Daily Report

East Europe

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'Disputes' Suspend Meeting of Autonomy Assembly

AU2006161595 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 19 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After being suspended for almost three and a half years, the Assembly for the Political and Territorial Autonomy of Albanians in Presheve [Presevo], Medvegje [Medveda], and Bujanovc [Bujanovac] With the Right to Unification With Kosova has again convened.

The meeting, which was presided over by Chairman Ibrahim Kadriu, set out to examine the Assembly's regulations and to determine whether Albanian conscripts should or should not serve in the self-proclaimed Yugoslav Army.

At the meeting, Kadriu rejected a document from two Albanian parties active in Presheve, Medvegje, and Bujanovc, which dealt with radicalizing the demands of Albanians living in this area. But several representatives of political parties and members of the Autonomy Assembly supported the document and asked that it be sent to the Serbian Assembly and other international bodies.

Owing to some disputes and lack of [word indistinct], the meeting was suspended.

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Foreign Minister Reports on Visit to Belgrade

AU2006185395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski has ended his two-day official visit to Belgrade. Our special radio correspondent (?Dimitrova) has sent the following report.

[Begin recording] Our joint assessment is that the visit has produced very good results—I quote the words of Bulgarian Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski, and there are good grounds for this assessment.

The Bulgarian and Yugoslav sides gave detailed explanations of their positions on regional problems and bilateral relations, and also discussed the context and prospects for their development in the future.

The clear desire for a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav conflict was convincingly confirmed by the Yugoslav Government's desire to seek a peaceful political settlement of the crisis: concrete intentions and concrete actions to find ways to achieve such a settlement.

The Yugoslav position is that an immediate lifting of the sanctions is an obligatory condition for an early settlement of the conflict. The Bulgarian view that the embargo should be lifted gradually, simultaneously with seeking a political solution was regarded by Belgrade as corresponding very closely to the requirements of the situation at the moment. The most important thing is to prevent the failure of the moves toward a cease-fire and starting talks on a political settlement. The positions of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia make up key components of the prerequisites for finding a settlement.

Bulgaria has a legitimate interest and concern in seeing that the Bulgarians in Serbia should fully exercise their constitutional and lawful rights and freedoms, Minister Pirinski declared at every one of his meetings in Belgrade. Minister Margit Savovic (?will visit) Bulgaria in the very near future to examine conscientiously and responsibly all the issues that the Bulgarian side wishes to raise for Yugoslavia to consider. [end recording]

Report Says WEU Observers Engage in Smuggling

AU2006122695 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 Jun 95 p 3

[Report by Ventsislav Peykov: "Euro-Observers Regularly Violate Embargo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Military employees of Vidin's Border Unit maintain that it is not only the citizens of the villages along the border, but also the West European Union [WEU] observers who regularly violate the trade embargo against former Yugoslavia. Our Border Unit troops maintain that almost daily these Euro-observers convert their salaries into goods which are then smuggled and sold to Serbs who wait for the observers on the bank of the Danube. The observers' cutters from Italy dock at Vidin's river port. Each of them has a crew of 20. During their inspections along the Danube, they hang flags of the European Community and Bulgaria alongside the Italian flag.

Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Georgiev, commander of the Vidin Border Unit, says that anyone can violate the embargo while sailing on the Danube, because the Bulgarian cutters are blind during the night, without any radio communications systems or lights. Lt. Col Georgiev refused to say whether the Euro-observers are violating the embargo, because he has not been authorized to comment on the matter.

Our river border with Romania remains almost without any protection during the night, because the Border Unit does not have enough soldiers. A 400-km section along the Danube is guarded by the Vidin Border Unit, which is also in charge of guarding a 250-km strip alongside the river.

The western border represents another painful problem for the Border troops. During the tenure of former Minister Yordan Sokolov, the barbed wire and the concrete border posts were sold to the citizens of Bregovo and neighboring villages. This was the end of seriously guarding the border, a petty officer from the Border troops has told DUMA. Bregovo citizens regularly cross the border for prearranged meetings with the neighbors and sell them smuggled goods. We cannot pursue these offenders because 85 percent of our vehicles are only fit for the garbage can. Lt. Col. Georgiev said that the Border Unit receives new cars only as gifts and the gifts are usually old cars of the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The customs authorities allow the personal import or export of no more than two cartons of cigarettes and one bottle of alcohol. A carton of Marlboro cigarettes sells in Vidin for 12 German marks [DM], while the Serbs are prepared to pay DM15 to DM20, Bregovo citizens explain. They maintain that there is no restriction as to how many times they can cross the border daily. The Border troops register only those vehicles that cross the border, not the passengers, Uncle Boris from the village of Dunavtsi said. He has two CZ motorcycles and uses each of them every 15 days for trips across the border.

A customs officer from the Vrushka Chuka border checkpoint said that the citizens could not be held responsible for these petty violations, because they are forced by their own poverty to do this. Most of the citizens in the border region are unemployed and

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crossing the border with a carton or two of cigarettes is their only source of income, he said.

Some 83 percent of the violators of our state border are smugglers, Lt. Col. Ivan Georgiev says. The other 17 percent are Romanians heading for Greece or Turkey.

At the beginning of this week, the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Vidin created a difficulty for the smugglers by refusing to renew old passports or issue new ones. The refusal is based on the tremendous backlog at the Passport Service, which will not issue the last passport requested before the ban until November. However, some Vidin citizens have already found a solution to the new problem. They travel to Sofia, where it takes three days to receive a new passport.

On Monday, Lieutenant Colonel Vulcho Vulchev became the new chief of the directorate. He replaces Lieut. Col. Nikolay Dechev, who was dismissed following an inspection.

Zhelev, Cabinet Members Discuss Land Act

AU2106065095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today President Zhelyu Zhelev discussed topical problems connected with the Land Act and associated land reform with Svetoslav Shivarov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Agriculture Minister Vasil Chichibaba. Following the meeting, presidential spokesman Valentin Stoyanov made the following statement:

[Begin recording] The president invited the two ministers to the meeting in connection with the Constitutional Court's ruling on the unconstitutionality of 19 provisions contained in the Land Act. The president appealed that the government should refrain from applying anticonstitutional legal provisions before the court's ruling takes effect, because the application of such provisions may increase tension and provoke unrest in the country, which would delay the land reform even more. The president insisted that the regulations for applying the Land Act should be amended in conformance with the Constitutional Court's ruling. [end recording]

Ministers Shivarov and Chichibaba declared that since they had not yet seen the arguments motivating the Constitutional Court's verdict, they had no opinion on the issue, nor did they know how the application of the law may be changed, because the Agriculture Ministry has already prepared a program for carrying through the land reform. [passage indistinct]

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KDS Approves Merger Agreement With ODS

AU2106114095 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 19 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by "(jc)": "The KDS Leadership Has Approved the Merger Agreement With the ODS"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brno—The national leadership of the Christian Democratic Party [KDS] approved the draft merger agreement with the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] in Brno on 18 June. KDS Chairman Ivan Pilip said that 23 committee members voted for the agreement, while seven voted against it and one abstained.

"The first stage of the agreement now comes into effect; it should culminate in the final decisions made by the ODS congress and the KDS and KAN [Club of Nonaligned Activists] assemblies at the end of the year," said Pilip. According to him, this is a very important step, because, for the first time on the domestic political scene, it means that an integration process rather than a disintegration process is taking place. "This is a step toward creating an even stronger right-wing party. I am not worried that the Christian Democratic platform will wither away within the ODS," said Pilip.

The agreement defines the three stages in the integration process and also specifies that the parties' merger will be complete the moment the ODS candidate lists for next year's parliamentary elections are drawn up, that is, evidently at the end of March.

The agreement guarantees KDS members four places without election leaders on the ODS lists of candidates for the elections to the Chamber of Deputies. If the ODS wins more than 76 mandates, then the KDS will get one more place. Members of the ODS Executive Council expressed their agreement with this arrangement on 17 June at a meeting in Loucen. Representatives from the two parties should sign the agreement next week and the parties' most senior bodies should approve it definitively in the fall.

The agreement also resolves the situation of the Club of Nonaligned Activists, which, some time ago, concluded a partnership agreement with the KDS that worked toward a merger. If KAN gives this agreement the go-ahead at its congress, then KAN members will be regarded as members of the Christian Democratic Party.

Dlouhy Advocatae Growth, Inflation Control

AU2006161695 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Jun 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Jiri Nemecek: "Economic Growth Must Not Be Accompanied by Inflation, Maintains Minister V. Dlouhy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The most risky factor for the Czech Republic's economic growth in the years to come will be inflation. This statement was made yesterday by Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy during the so-called Zofin Forum, organized jointly by HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, which, this time, focussed on the problems of Czech industry. "We must not endorse growth that, at the same time, would lead to accelerated inflation," declared the minister. He also pointed out that inflation, cleansed of the fluctuations caused by the transformation changes in the Czech Republic, is hovering, already for the fourth year, at around 10 percent and that each 1.0-percent reduction will be difficult and painful.

The maximum forecast for economic growth this year does not, at the moment, exceed 4.6 percent. Of course, in the foreseeable future, if we wish approach—for example, in our standard of living—the countries of the European Union (economic growth for the EU this year is estimated at 3.0 percent), it is necessary to improve the economy's efficiency. Among the main barriers to more rapid growth are inflation caused by wage increases higher than the increase in the labor productivity as well as lingering insolvency. According to V. Dlouhy, it is no longer critical, but it will continue to cause considerable problems in the enterprise sphere. In this context, the minister warned that, because of the enterprises' indebtedness, difficult times lie ahead even for the smaller banks.

He ranks the relatively low investment activity and the nominal influx of new technologies among the other barriers. The ratio of added value remains low in Czech products. However, until microeconomic efficiency improves, increased investments from the financial (banking) sector cannot, according to V. Dlouhy, be expected. The question is whether it is possible to improve the enterprises' efficiency without more massive investments. The enterprises' financial situation should, according to the minister, be resolved globally. From this point of view, however, V. Dlouhy does not incline toward the possibility of utilizing resources from the National Property Fund [FNM], but rather toward seeking a solution with the assistance of the Consolidation Bank, whose main role—already during its establishment—was to clear the debts of the enterprise sphere.

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Minister V. Dlouhy ranks the future fate of privatization, the pace of which is beginning to slow down, among the issues that the Czech cabinet will have to resolve speedily. This does not mean that privatization would be unsuccessful. At present, 57.6 percent of the total property—worth 928 billion korunas—that was destined for privatization before the end of last year has already been denationalized (that is, the property is no longer held by the FNM or any other state entity). However, according to V. Dlouhy, the majority of owners, including the funds and the FNM, are not yet in effect acting like owners. Therefore, the main responsibility still lies with the managements of the individual enterprises.

"In my opinion, the country needs a certain growth policy," said V. Dlouhy in connection with the issue of industrial policy. It would be, in his view, oriented in particular toward the so-called strategic sectors of industry. Here, in the short term, the state would retain a majority in the privatized enterprises; from the long-term point of view, it would have to formulate a legislative and factual framework that would define the state's activity from the standpoint of an owner. These strategic sectors are necessitated by the limited sources of certain raw materials and by the need to guarantee control over the economy's functionality (for example, the infrastructure).

Agreement on IOC-Refineries Deal Initialed

AU2006115795 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by "(mha, sa)": "A General Agreement on the IOC's Entry Has Been Signed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague/Litvinov—The negotiations on the entry of the International Oil Consortium (IOC)—affiliating the Agip, Conoco, Shell, and Total companies—into the Czech refineries came to an end early yesterday with the initialing of a general agreement at the level of expert groups. The agreement, however, has to be ratified subsequently by the Czech Government and by the more senior bodies of the companies represented in the IOC; only then can it become valid. According to Kamil Cermak, spokesman for the Trade and Industry Ministry, the two participating sides (Unipetrol and the IOC) have agreed on all of the key areas and the signed agreement contains a solution to all of the contentious issues around which the negotiations had been oscillating (reimbursement for past ecological damage, guaranteeing a market for products from Czech refineries, transportation tariffs for oil, market appraisal of the refineries, and the material amounts of the investment). He refused to divulge specific details, however. "If the government ratifies the agreement next week or, at the latest, the following week, it will become valid before 30 June when the exclusivity deadline for the negotiations with the IOC expires," he said.

The Czech Government decided last year to separate the refineries from the Kaucuk Kralupy and Chemopetrol Litvinov companies and to admit a foreign partner. The refineries will be incorporated into the Czech Refinery Company. The Unipetrol company should have a 51-percent stake in it and the foreign consortium should have 49 percent.

Shareholders in the Chemopetrol company gave the go-ahead at yesterday's general assembly for the property, organizational, and capital interlinking of the Chemopetrol, Kaucuk, and Unipetrol companies. Although the company returned a pretax profit of 1.9 billion korunas, no dividends will be paid.

Rail Workers Reach Agreement; Strike Averted

LD2106103295 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0500 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Ceske Drahy [Czech Railways] strike has been called off at the eleventh hour. Trade union representatives called it off at 1930 yesterday following more than three-hour-long negotiations with Transport Minister Jan Strasky. The final stage of these negotiations was also attended by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus.

[Begin Klaus recording] I am not at all bothered about small sums of money, for I think that much more is at stake. I am glad that this agreement has been reached.

I simply think that this is a sensible agreement for this country as a whole and that a failure to reach agreement would have been very damaging.

I believe the agreement avoids the chaos which could break out both on the railways and in Ceske Drahy. This would complicate and delay the decisions that have to be made. And so, speaking on my own behalf and also on behalf of this country's citizens, I believe that the agreement we have reached is a good agreement and that all sides have to make sure that this does not happen again, with regard to both the form and pressures we could witness in this instance. Let's hope that all is going to be alright now. [end recording]

[Announcer] [passage omitted] The Bohemian-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions has also welcomed the agreement between the government and railwaymen, even though its representatives were determined to lend their backing to the railway men right till the end. This is what Richard Falbr, the chamber's chairman, told Czech radio:

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[Begin Falbr recording] I think the immediate future will show that the action taken by rail transport unions has served its purpose, that it drew attention to the unsatisfactory situation in this sphere and to the fact that wages are, indeed, very low. This is documented by the support all railway men gave to the preparations for the strike.

I would like to tell those who might be inclined to criticize government representatives for the outcome of the whole thing that in my view it was a wise decision because tough words that the government should not back down are inappropriate, I think. I am glad things turned out in this way, and I believe that in future these situations will be prevented mainly by our holding talks. [end recording]

[Announcer] President Vaclav Havel welcomed the conciliation during his meeting with the prime minister last night.

[Begin Havel recording] The fact that the strike will not take place is certainly a good thing. [end recording]

[Announcer] [passage omitted]

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Prime Minister on Economy, Foreign Ties, EU

WS2106102095 Kiev KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 14 Jun 95 p 4

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Tetyana Silina in Bratislava; date not given: "The Forward of Slovak Politics, Vladimir Meciar: It Is Always Harder for the Center Forward Than for Anybody Else"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In the fall of 1994, after the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia won the elections, party leader Vladimir Meciar became prime minister of the Slovak Republic for the third time. People seem to really love this strong man, who has a quick reflex and knows perfectly well what his country needs. Certain elderly people even hang photographs of him in their homes. Judging by all appearances, Meciar's family has been seeing him primarily on photographs and television over the last couple of years. Incidentally, his wife and three children live in a three-room apartment, the windows of which are at the ground level. Daily meetings have become a long-forgotten luxury. In light of a tight schedule, the Slovak prime minister has virtually no time for reporters. People say that he has not granted an interview for over a year, and that reporters from one of the German papers have been waiting for an interview with Meciar for two years. On the eve of his visit to Kiev, which is scheduled for today, Prime Minister Meciar astounded both his retinue and the Slovak Foreign Ministry by making an exception for KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI. The interview lasted for more than 90 minutes.*

[Silina] Mr. Prime Minister, after Slovakia won its independence, it was said that the country would be able to survive for no longer than six months. At present, we can already speak about certain economic accomplishments of your state. How would you assess Slovakia's economic situation?

[Meciar] We are transforming our economy from a socialist system to that of a free market. Various methods are being used during this transitional stage. Slovakia rejected the method of shock therapy (this is one of our differences with the Czech Republic) and replaced it with gradual structural changes, which we regard as the foundation for every reform. I would like to add, that we do not consider reform of the types of ownership as an aim in itself. We regard this kind of reform as a means to achieve the ultimate goal. The growth rate of GNP currently stands at 5.8 percent. The koruna has become a stable currency and we are going to grant domestic convertibility of people's accounts as of 1 October. Incidentally, we already have the necessary reserves to grant domestic convertibility of the koruna. We have lessened the level of unemployment and are planning to reduce it to 4 percent of the entire workforce within the next six months. Monthly inflation rates in Slovakia did not exceed 0.3 percent in 1995. The average salary was more than 6,000 korunas ($250-280). I would like to emphasize that the foreign trade balance is a relevant indicator, and Slovakia has a positive balance. The National Bank's hard currency reserve has multiplied since the creation of the state. In the future, we are going to concentrate our efforts on investments and technologies. We must protect the domestic market and restore order in it. Investors provide a very positive assessment of Slovakia, given that we have an attractive market and free access to the world's capital market. In 1995, we refused to accept subsequent loans and credits offered by the IMF (we no longer need them), and we are planning to repay all the credits acquired in the past.

[Silina] Slovakia is not an exception. Here, just as in other postcommunist states, political crises occur periodically. How do they affect the economic situation, and what is the essence of the current conflict between the governmental coalition, headed by you, and the president?

[Meciar] Our state is only two and a half years old, and we are only just forming its structure and political system. Of course, certain disagreements crop up in the course of this process, caused by differences in opinions regarding the shape and functions of various institutions. As for relations between the legislature and the president, our parliament has expressed its lack of confidence in the president, because the latter has abused his authority. Looking at this incident from the perspective of our system, I would say that controlling mechanisms did not work with regard to the president.

[Silina] What should be the next steps?

[Meciar] In normal democratic states presidents resign after a vote of no confidence. Our president, however, has resolved to wage a political war. The government is standing aloof from this conflict, because we do not want it to affect the economic situation. There are various ways to maintain relations between the legislative and executive authorities. However, two centers of executive authority cannot exist, especially if each has its own program.

[Silina] Mr. Prime Minister, the separation of Slovakia and the Czech Republic is often used as an example for other states, including Russia and Ukraine. Was the separation really that lucky for Slovakia? What were the positive and negative sides of this process?

[Meciar] In the political aspect, after the separation, we acquired the right to speak for ourselves in our relations

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with the entire world. We had not had this opportunity before, given that all our roads used to lead to Prague. At present, the entire world is open to us.

In the past, there existed a prevailing opinion to the effect, that the Czech Republic was sustaining Slovakia economically. People even used to speak about the so-called money channel from the Czech Republic to Slovakia. It recently turned out though, that the actual situation was somewhat different. At present, in trade operations between our states, Slovakia grants credits to the Czech Republic, which has a negative trade balance with us. We did not do anything extraordinary; we simply made a transition to free-market prices. However, the Czech Republic still enjoys certain privileges. The two states have created a customs union; a clearing agreement exists in the sphere of mutual payments. It should be pointed out though, that as far as clearing goes, the Czech side has remained passive for a long time now. That is why the Czechs have suggested that the system of clearing be abolished. Meanwhile, Slovakia suggests that the Slovak koruna be accepted as legal tender in mutual trade relations, given that it is a stable currency. Nonetheless, the Czech Republic undoubtedly plays an important role in our foreign trade, while trade ties with Ukraine are very weak.

[Silina] What is the reason for this? Who is to blame—the Slovak side or the Ukrainian one? Are there any objective reasons?

[Meciar] After my visits to Ukraine in 1990-91, there were no political contacts at the intergovernmental level, which could facilitate the establishment of economic relations. This can be explained by the existence of a number of objective factors. Both Ukraine and Slovakia had to build their statehood from scratch. The former COMECON [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] market disintegrated; established ties were disrupted; the entire system of mutual payments was ruined. The pace of changes was different in different countries. On the one hand, we lost a lot then, for we did not trade. On the other hand, we did not know how to pay for products. At the beginning, we had to create a legal base for the development of economic ties. There should be guarantees concerning banking operations. The Slovak side is ready to move over to a higher level of cooperation. We are ready to invest in Ukraine's economy and to participate in the privatization process. We know that there are opportunities to initiate direct cooperation in the production sector. Ukraine's market provides endless opportunities and your state has radiant prospects. There are no political animosities of any kind between our states of either an historic or contemporary nature. We only need coordination of political and economic relations. Our experience may be useful in Ukraine. We have our own way, but it is no worse than the ways chosen by other states. When we embarked on it, there were claims that we were looking for an alternative way of development. It turned out however, that we had chosen the right path.

[Silina] Aside from economic problems, other problems exist too, in relations between our states. Take, for instance the visa-free procedure for border crossing. Slovakia has already signed an appropriate agreement with Russia. However, Russian citizens will be coming to Slovakia through Ukraine, and we do not have a similar agreement. Will it be signed and why did it not happen until now?

[Meciar] The primary reason is the inadequate capacity of checkpoints. Slovakia wants to become Ukraine's door to West Europe. That is why we are planning to reconstruct the Cerna-nad-Tisou checkpoint and, by the year 2005, link Ukraine to West Europe with a highway. The other problem is connected with our limited potential for receiving numerous visitors from Ukraine. The third [illegible]r is that, to my regret, not all the visitors are the s[illegible]. In any case, for diplomats and for those who travel on official business all the roads should be open.

[Silina] Do the Russian and the Ukrainian mafia exist in Slovakia, and how much trouble do they cause to your law enforcement agencies?

[Meciar] After borders were opened and the transition to a free-market economy was made, the black market grew enormously. While the economic integration process in Europe may go on for several years, mafia groups became integrated within a couple of months. This includes drug trafficking, prostitution, car theft rings, and violence. Of course Slovakia, just as any other state wants to fence itself off from all that. Mafia groups have managed to integrate very quickly, while international cooperation in fighting them is not developing equally as fast. That is why this issue, too, should be raised at the negotiations. As for per capita crime rates, this indicator in Slovakia is among the world's lowest. There are two methods of fighting crime. The first is through prevention, and the other—by eliminating the conditions for the existence of the black market. Thus, this fight should not be conducted solely by law enforcement agencies. My government, for instance, has approved the program of "clean hands" to disrupt the ties between the black market and politics. We have also passed a conflict of interests law, which concerns lawmakers, government officials, and the president alike. Additional incomes of a lawmaker—which he is obliged to declare—cannot exceed the minimum

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wage of a worker. If they do exceed this sum, a lawmaker is stripped of his powers and has to leave parliament. This decision was prompted by a dramatic political fight. However, our government introduced this program and it is currently being implemented.

[Silina] Let us talk about the external aspects of national security. The world is currently discussing the future system of European security. What is Slovakia's vision of that system?

[Meciar] We believe that Europe will be safe when all its components are safe. Of course, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe plays an important role. However, this organization proved absolutely inefficient in Yugoslavia. If we take a closer look at NATO, we can see that it has undergone changes. Slovakia has signed the Partnership for Peace program with NATO and has indicated clearly that it intends to become a member of NATO. At the same time, our country openly declares that it is against a new division of Europe into two parts. The admission of new members into NATO will be a gradual process, and we should take into account the fact that Ukraine and Russia are nuclear states and the rules followed by Slovakia cannot be applied to those states. As for the future development of the system of security, we can see three "lines" here: First, the EU and NATO; second, Central Europe is being restored and Ukraine's relations with it will be very important; third, we can observe a striving to restore ties within the CIS security system. Central Europe does not have a comprehensive program at this point. Certain recommendations have been provided by the members of the Visegrad group, but my colleague Klaus (prime minister of the Czech Republic—editor's note) has stated that the group no longer exists. We should keep in mind that the process of integration with Europe is a matter of more than one year and a special program should be drafted for Central Europe (this kind of program does not exist at this point). Various factors hinder the creation of this program, including the Balkan war, which could have been ended within a short period of time, provided wise political decisions had been made. However, many political mistakes have already been committed in the former Yugoslavia.

[Silina] What does Ukraine mean to your state? Is it a strategic partner, a buffer between West Europe and Russia, or a bridge for Russia's contacts with Europe?

[Meciar] First of all, we do not want to contrast our relations with Russia to our relations with Ukraine. Those relations should be harmonious. For instance, Russian oil and gas are shipped to the West across our territory. We believe that Ukraine's intentions to build new routes on the territory of Belarus and Poland, instead of Slovakia, are mistakes made by Ukrainian politicians. The wide-track Southwestern Railroad stretches as far as Kosice. It can be used as both Ukraine's and Russia's road to West Europe. In addition, Slovakia is ready to build a high-speed railroad on its territory, which could become a link between West Europe, Ukraine, and Russia. Bratislava is only 60 km from Vienna, which is the capital of one of the EU member states. Mutual advantages should be derived from this situation.

[Silina] How are relations developing between Slovakia and the EU? How realistic are the chances for your state's membership in this organization?

[Meciar] Sobriety should be exercised in this issue. Our neighboring states have already declared that they are ready to join the EU, but it only makes me laugh. Wishes or political declarations are not the point. A whole range of economic requirements should be met, and a new legal system created. We have a very graphic example. The reunification of the two Germanys involved the merging of two systems. As a result, the eastern part virtually collapsed. West Germany, however, invested around 140 billion German marks in it. Some two-thirds of that sum was used to eliminate social disparities. Many people believe that if we join West Europe, the same thing will happen here and somebody will render us free assistance. This is the historic mistake of the enthusiasts of new Europe. We want to join the EU as equal partners who are ready to cooperate, and not as beggars. As for timeframes, it is hard to determine them at this point. We can see that the West is very tightly protecting its markets, due to which integration processes are going slower than expected. The idea of a free market is being promoted here, while in the West, attempts are being made to protect it. We, too, have to learn how to protect our markets. As for the conditions of integration, I would say that economic and social aspects will be of primary importance. We can see that every state is forming its own strategy. Thus, we must assess our relations before integration. Can we speak about integration with the West and ignore integration with one another? I think that this is impossible. We know what our state needs, and serving the state is our primary concern. On this basis we are going to build our relations with the EU and all our neighbors.

[Silina] Mr. Prime Minister, people say that you are an excellent athlete. Is it true that close to your office there is a gym, where you can "unload" your tension on training equipment, instead of your subordinates?

[Meciar] My work schedule is very tightly planned. I have no days off, and I often work until morning. I have been working in this mode for about five years now.

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If someone neglects his health, his working capacity decreases, and behavior changes. That is why I have accepted a very strict schedule: I do not drink coffee or alcoholic beverages; I do not smoke; I observe a strict diet; and I stay in shape through regular exercise. I have no time to go to a gym, and therefore I have outfitted my office with exercise equipment. For me, the best way to relax is by pumping five or seven tonnes [as published] of iron.

[Silina] You often played football during the election campaign. The current head of parliament was a goalie on your team, and you were a forward. Are you also a forward in life and in politics?

[Meciar] A center forward is always in a tougher situation than any other player, because he is pushed more often than others, and at the same time everybody expects him to score goals. Few people can stand such exertion without regular training. Four people from my team, which comprised lawmakers and members of the government, were injured and taken to hospital. However, we were very popular and used to have more spectators than teams from the league. If the Ukrainian Government wants to play football with Slovakia, we can cooperate in this field, too.

[Silina] One last question to the center forward of Slovak politics: Are you going to run for president?

[Meciar] I believe that it would be useful to change the president. However, I will not be the new president. I was once offered the presidential post back in the times of Federal Czechoslovakia, and I refused to accept it. A president should be independent. Meanwhile, I am chairman of the most powerful political movement in the state. I cannot afford to abandon my party. Official titles are of no significance to me. The principal thing is what I can accomplish. I want Slovakia to become a prosperous country, and the post of prime minister provides me the opportunity to render a service to my state.

Meciar Aims for Koruna Convertibility by 1 Oct

AU2006185695 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Jun 95 pp 1-2

[TASR report: "Transcarpathian Beeches for Slovak Korunas"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Vranov nad Toplou—The Slovak Government familiarized itself with the specific problems of the Lemplin region during its trip to Vranov nad Toplou district yesterday. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar visited the Bukoza shareholding company at Vranov nad Toplou. Addressing a meeting with Bukoza employees he said, among other things, that the government is trying to realize in Slovakia a social model similar to the Swedish one and, in many respects, it is succeeding. Speaking about the new model of privatization, he said that the gist of the new model is that what had previously been in anonymous coupons will now become real purchasing power. Vladimir Meciar provided information on the results of his working visit to Ukraine, which, as he said, is an important promising market and trading partner for Slovakia. Bukoza Vranov, too, will soon be importing beeches from Transcarpathia for Slovak korunas. According to Vladimir Meciar, a great deal is expected, among other things, of the Ukrainian proposal that the Slovak koruna be recognized as official tender on the Ukrainian market. He said that, following an agreement with the management of VSZ [East Slovak Iron Works] Kosice, he made the proposal at the talks, which the Ukrainian side accepted, that VSZ be enabled to participate in the privatization of the Krivoy Rog [iron ore] mines. Replying to a question about support for exports, Sergej Kozlik, deputy prime minister and finance minister, said that firms exporting more than 50 percent of their output will be eligible for the refund of the value-added tax for a shortened period. They will be reimbursed within 15 days. [passage omitted]

Convertible Koruna as of 1 Oct?

At a rally with the citizens of Vranov nad Toplou in the evening, Vladimir Meciar described the stability of the Slovak koruna and the growth of foreign exchange reserves as the most important successes of the Slovak economy. According to his words, this will make it possible to introduce the external convertibility of the Slovak koruna, probably as of 1 October this year. As he went on to stress, Slovakia is succeeding in reviving industrial production and increasing GDP. All these positive developments, which also include a foreign trade and balance of payments surplus, will make it possible, according to the prime minister's words, to increase the incomes of socially dependent groups of the population by 6 billion korunas by the end of the year. Participants in the rally responded with applause to the prime minister's announcement about plans to lower the import surcharge and customs duty for foreign passenger cars with an engine volume of under 1,300 cubic centimeters, as well as to his words about yesterday's decision to waive the current ban on construction within 100 meters of the shores of the Domasa water reservoir.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 17 June on page 2 carries a 300-word report by "jur" on Prime Minister Meciar's visit to the Bukoza company, whose management reportedly presented him with a request

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for the provision of a government guarantee for "a U.S. loan of $50-220 million for the modernization of the production of pulp and the construction of a new paper plant." Meciar is quoted as having replied that the matter is "complex" because "Bukoza is in private hands" and that "no conclusions" would be adopted in the course of the present visit because "the approximate projected development of sales must be known" before any decision is made.]

ZRS Supports Ratification of Hungarian Treaty

AU2006185895 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by "mb": "They Will Support Ratification of Treaty With Hungary"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banska Bystrica—The Central Council of the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] met in Banska Bystrica on Saturday [17 June] to assess the implementation of the conclusions of the party's April congress and discuss other domestic political issues. [passage omitted]

The ZRS Central Council decided to file criminal charges against Miroslav Kocnar, former ZRS deputy chairman, because of his failure to report his alleged findings about the falsification of signatures on ZRS petition sheets. For the same reason, criminal charges will also be filed against M. Kiszelicova and O. Karaszova, two former ZRS members. [passage omitted]

The ZRS Central Council confirmed its stand on Slovakia's admission into NATO and the European Union. It is of the opinion that the decision on Slovakia's membership should be made by the citizens in a referendum. The ZRS will support the ratification of the treaty with Hungary, but it considers Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1201 on ethnic minorities to be a mere recommendation and nothing that would be binding. This is why, prior to the treaty's ratification in our parliament, it is necessary to conclude the Framework Agreement, which will exactly specify the meaning of individual points of the treaty so that neither side can then interpret and misuse them for its benefit.

According to Stefan Gavornik, ZRS deputy chairman and chairman of the National Property Fund, the party supports standard privatization methods. It insists that workers, technical staff, and management be issued employees' shares and that not just top management of individual factories be involved in privatization. According to the new privatization proposal, each citizen should receive five coupons worth a total of 10,000 korunas, although this amount has not yet been approved. This sum will not be paid out in cash, however. Even though nothing has been finally approved so far, the second wave of privatization should start next month, according to the FNM chairman.

[On the same page, Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak carries a 300-word report by "bm" on an interview with ZRS Chairman Jan Luptak conducted by a PRAVDA correspondent during the ZRS Central Council meeting on 17 June. In the interview, Luptak is asked to respond to an article published in the central Slovak regional daily SMER DNES (date not given), according to which "the ZRS chairman himself admitted that they did not have enough signatures (to participate in the 1994 parliamentary elections) and so they falsified the missing signatures. But the number of falsified signatures was not 2,000 (as claimed by former ZRS Deputy Chairman Miroslav Kocnar), but 'only' 1,800." Luptak replies that he never made the statement attributed to him by SMER DNES, that he is known as an honest man and "would never dare forge petition sheets," and that he will sue the regional daily to defend his and the ZRS's honor.]

SDSS Leadership Rejects Reform Platform

AU2006155195 Bratislava SME in Slovak 19 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by "dos": "SDSS Leadership Rejects New Platform's Accusations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"While we are aware of shortcomings and problems in the work of the party, we do not consider one-sided and vague criticism of the party's policy thus far to be helpful," notes a statement issued by the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia [SDSS] Central Council Presidium on the formation of the Social Democratic Revival platform. In the unanimously adopted statement, the SDSS Presidium rejected on 17 June the Czechoslovakist label, as well as claims about the national lukewarmness of its policy or about its deviation from the party's original program. The Presidium adopted the statement after it heard the views of two representatives of the platform, Lubomir Kohut and Ivan Laluha. According to SDSS Chairman Jaroslav Volf, an internal party affair is involved and the Presidium does not consider the publicity surrounding it to be a contribution to enhancing the SDSS's influence and prestige in society. The complete list of signatories of the platform's statement is not known to the party leadership but, according to SDSS Deputy Chairman M. Spejl, so far they know only about a maximum of three district organizations that have endorsed the platform's formation. As the two best known signatories of the platform, Boris Zala and Ivan Laluha, are both leading representatives of the SDSS Political and Program Board, Jaroslav Volf also

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commented on the activity of this consultative body of the party leadership. Volf said that, should the Political Board act as a purely opposition faction and not meet its duties, the SDSS leadership will have to assume a stand on it.

Secretary Denies Meciar Has Heart Problem

AU2006120895 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Jun 95 p 5

["Excerpts" of an interview with Anna Nagyova, director of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's Secretariat, by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "If One Is Not Up to Something, One Should Not Do It"—reprinted from 17 June issue of Bratislava PRACA in Slovak]

[FBIS Translated Text] [PRACA] Jan Carnogurski, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, said aloud what has until now only been whispered. Prime Minister Meciar supposedly visited the Holy Father accompanied by his girlfriend. He probably meant you....

[Nagyova] I can only say that I do not intend to reply to Mr. Carnogursky's primitive utterances. I suppose that every intelligent person will form a clear picture of this gentleman for himself.

[PRACA] Vladimir Meciar had rather serious health problems some time ago. They had to do with the heart, if I am not mistaken....

[Nagyova] He did not have any heart problems, that was only a misinterpretation by the mass media. He was generally exhausted and tired. He underwent a complete examination and the doctors recommended rest and sleep, a luxury he naturally could not afford. That is why they gave him this little gadget [maly pristrojcek] for 24 hours. The people deduced from this that he was having a heart problem. (...) As far as his health is concerned, he is fit. The fact that he sleeps four or five hours a day is not an illness, as he himself says, but a lifelong habit. He supposedly does not need any more sleep.

Ducky Views Economic Growth, Managerial Changes

AU2006155095 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Jun 95 p 4

[Interview with Economy Minister Jan Ducky by Oldrich Zabojnik in Bratislava; date not given: "The Slovak Republic Has To React to the Czech Course of Action"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the official reports, and at variance with the opposition's doubts regarding the absence of a comprehensive government economic program, the Slovak Republic's economy is developing well with demonstrable results. Slovakia's economy minister, Jan Ducky, emphasized this in an interview for HOSPODARSKE NOVINY.

[Zabojnik] In your opinion, what speaks in favor of the Slovak economy's healthy development?

[Ducky] I would illustrate this with the results for the first quarter of this year. GDP rose by 5.8 percent in actual prices, industrial output increased by 10 percent, and inflation did not even attain the aliquot percentage of its forecast annual increase, which testifies to a certain stability in prices. We are also very pleased that, compared with the same period last year, our exports have risen 25 percent. The state's balance of payments, our foreign currency reserves, and also a certain amount of self-confidence are, naturally, associated with this. We are convinced that the road we have embarked upon in economic policy is the right one.

[Zabojnik] What is your opinion of the opposition's claims that the ongoing managerial changes in dozens of enterprises are politically motivated?

[Ducky] The opposition is there to criticize, and the forms chosen are its affair. For the economy minister, personnel policy must proceed from the results that the enterprises achieve. The managerial changes in our department are associated with the fact that the efficiency of the enterprises managed by them was not in order. When one of them is a loss maker, I know that it cannot generate a profit the very next day. However, if some enterprises continue to decline and other, comparable ones are achieving opposite results, then the minister—who is responsible for the implementation of the government's policy statement—has no choice but to act. I have had no clashes with the opposition under these circumstances.

[Zabojnik] What is your view of current Slovak-Czech relations?

[Ducky] Nothing extraordinary is happening in Czech-Slovak commercial and economic relations. Eighteen months ago, when we in the Slovak Republic were resolving our own problems, we were also given almost princely advice, which I would not now like to repeat. Ministers, prime ministers, and governments are obliged to concern themselves with the economic results of their own state. The Czech Government chose a form that I would like to say we had agreed to. The Czech Republic is our strongest trading partner; obviously, it will remain so. However, we will have to react to the course of action chosen by the Czech side to maintain balance in commercial and payment relations with the Czech Republic.

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French Firm Withdraws Workers From Mochovce

AU2006115695 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Jun 95 p 2

[TASR report: "The French Are Leaving"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Electricite de France (EdF)-Slovelec Ltd. has begun withdrawing most of its 35 employees from Slovakia back to France, in reaction to the three-month suspension of key activities on the completion of the Mochovce nuclear power plant project. The company's employees worked in Slovakia for about three years. A group of EdF employees who deal directly with the project will stay in Bratislava to maintain contact with Slovak partners and government bodies.

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Poll Shows Majority for EU, NATO Membership

AU2006155295 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Jun 95 p 10

[Unattributed report: "The Public Supports Hungary's Integration Efforts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Under commission from MAGYAR HIRLAP, TeleMedia conducted an opinion poll among 931 adult Hungarian citizens on Hungary's integration efforts.

First, as a screening question, the people in the survey were asked about their interest in foreign policy. After this initial screening, only people who showed at least some interest in foreign policy were questioned further: some 60 percent of the overall number. Among these people, only 15 percent said that they were keenly interested in Hungary's foreign relations. The others said they were moderately or little interested. If we project this on a scale of 100 points, the average value of the people's interest in foreign policy is 30 points. Some 77 percent of the people surveyed agreed (55 percent of them firmly) with Hungary's wish to join the EU, 16 percent opposed (7 percent of them firmly) this intention, and 7 percent could not, or did not want to take a stand.

The survey showed a smaller support for NATO membership: 57 percent agreed (36 percent firmly), 16 percent opposed (11 percent firmly), and 14 percent were uncertain. On the aforementioned 100 point scale, these answers make up 76 points in the case of EU membership and 63 points in the case of NATO membership.

If we analyze the two answers together, it transpires that more than half of the people surveyed (54 percent) agree with Hungary's joining both integration organizations; 23 percent favor the EU and reject NATO, and 3 percent think the other way around; every fifth person gave a negative answer to both questions.

Hungary's integration in the EU is welcomed primarily by young people, with an average of 80 points; older people lag behind this average. There are more supporters among educated people and women.

As for NATO, the opinions here show connection mostly with the political views: Supporters of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] are far below the average (56 points), while supporters of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] are above the average (86 points), so the former are mostly opponents, while the latter are among those who support this integration. As for the expected timing of NATO membership, most answers speak of 5 to 10 years. Such answers were given by 53 percent of the people about Hungary's EU membership, and 39 percent about NATO membership. More people spoke of earlier NATO membership than EU membership; at the same time, however, the average of uncertain answers was higher in connection with NATO membership.

It can be noted in both cases that expectations reflect the level of support; in other words, those who agree with Hungary's joining one or the other integration organization are also more optimistic about the timing than the average.

The opinion poll also tried to find answers to what kind of advantages and disadvantages the people expect from this European integration. People mostly mentioned marketing among the advantages of political integration (more export opportunities, favorable customs conditions, etc.), and this was mostly expressed by young people and more educated people. Many people, especially women, among those who favor integration expect financial advantages (aid, support, flow of capital), while the strengthening of European character reflects the typical opinion of city dwellers.

The list of answers according to the number of advantages given is the following:

	Percent
No advantages mentioned	25
One advantage mentioned	31
Two advantages mentioned	29
Several advantages mentioned	15

According to party preferences, the survey showed that the supporters of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] mentioned more advantages than the average, while supporters of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP] and people who did not disclose their party preference at the latest elections mentioned fewer advantages.

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Regarding the disadvantages, the people in the survey mostly mentioned the difficult conditions of joining the integration (27 percent), and the decline of our domestic economy. This was the typical answer of males, high school graduates, and people who opposed integration; some 22 percent of the people thought that joining the EU has no disadvantages whatsoever (answers given mostly by women and middle-aged people).

Regarding the advantages of NATO membership, most people mentioned the feeling of security, and this was the main argument of those supporting Hungary's NATO membership. Some 14 percent of the people expect NATO to protect Hungary from a possible spillover of the Yugoslav conflict, and 5 percent expect NATO to protect Hungary from the Russian threat. Every fifth person, mostly MSZP supporters, with less than average support for NATO membership, do not expect any kind of advantage from NATO membership.

As for the possible disadvantages of NATO membership, most people mentioned the high military expenditure: One-third of the people surveyed (including people over 46, city dwellers, and KDNP supporters) came up with this argument.

The loss of neutrality was the major argument of NATO opponents, with 17 percent of the people giving such an answer. Some 19 percent saw no disadvantage whatsoever in NATO membership, and less than 10 percent mentioned the threat outside NATO and Russian opposition. The older generation of people over 60, a generation that suffered a lot, provided most counterarguments:

	Percent
No counterargument given	20
One counterargument given	69
Two or more counterarguments given	11

Bokros Expects Major Changes in Economy

AU2006185595 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 20 Jun 95 pp 1, 11

[Report by MTI: "The Reduction of the 'Twin Deficit' Will Be Continued Next Year—The Economy Is Facing a Turn, the Finance Minister Claims"]

[FBIS Translated Text] If the Constitutional Court's decisions do not significantly change the law amendment package accepted by the National Assembly, then an important change will take place in economic policy this year. This was claimed by Finance Minister Lajos Bokros at the 19 June Budapest meeting of the Hungarian Association of Management Consultants, the MTI reported.

One of the main goals of the 1996 budget is to achieve again the 165 billion forints [Ft] savings in state administration. The modernization of state finances and the streamlining of state administration will also be continued next year.

According to Bokros, when drawing up the 1996 budget, the Finance Ministry's experts take the goals of the reform of state administration into consideration. The March 1995 financial stabilization package has achieved the desired effect in the short term because the central budget has become stabilized. While, after the first three months, the deficit amounted to as much as Ft150 billion, this level only increased to Ft170 billion by the end of May, which means that it increased by Ft10 billion a month. The complete reform of the pension system will be started next year. The transformation of the health care system and the streamlining of the governmental public administration will be continued. In the governmental sphere, the 15 percent staff cut was only the beginning, Bokros said. The goal is to reassess the tasks of public administration and, as a result, to restructure it. In other words, even 60 percent staff cuts might not be impossible in the case of certain central institutions, ministries, and main authorities. Education, including higher education, requires complete modernization. According to Bokros, a small country like Hungary does not necessarily have to maintain five agricultural science universities; it is also worth considering that technical colleges and universities have set up their internal economic training, while renowned universities of economics exist in the country.

In addition to the law amendment package, a preannounced maximum 10 to 15 percent wage increase at budget-run institutions is also part of stabilization. Therefore, also taking inflation into consideration, the reduction of real wages will be over 10 percent. However, this is necessary to allow our country's products to become more competitive in the world market.

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The significant structural change has to be implemented in such a way as to significantly reduce the state's role and and to make it withdraw from those areas where the central, state presence is not absolutely necessary. Only this can contribute to the reduction of the state budget's financing needs and to spending the savings on increasing investments in Hungary. Within the spending of the GDP, investments have to be increased significantly and consumption has to be reduced. It would be desirable for the rate of investment to be doubled to reach 25 percent.

In 1996, the significant reduction of the "twin deficits," namely the deficit of the current payment balance and of the central budget will remain as the main goal. Hungary can only be placed on a long-term growth course if the government also pays attention to the economy's balance while supporting investments.

The acceleration of privatization is one of the cornerstones of establishing lasting growth. Bokros attaches high hopes to the privatization of the electricity and oil industries, telecommunications, gas suppliers, and the banking sphere. If possible, privatization has to be implemented through the capital injection method in this area. In his view, the multinational companies that are already in Hungary, for example General Motors, General Electric, and Volkswagen-Audi, support the stabilization program. "They say that they will increase their production in Hungary if I stick to the program," Bokros said. In his view, it makes no difference whether it is multinational companies or those in other kinds of ownership who increase their income and exports: These serve the interest of the whole country.

In reply to questions, he said that he still considers the capital injection to the Budapest Bank to be a good arrangement. It does not cost the budget any money, in fact, in the case of successful privatization, the budget will make a profit on it. After the withdrawal of the first investor, other potential customers have applied to buy the Budapest Bank, Bokros said. In fact, if first-class foreign investors intended to buy other major state companies, then the "window dressing" used in the Budapest Bank's case could be applied again. However, Bokros underlined that they had learned from this case and future capital injection methods would not be implemented through secret government decisions.

Opposition Parties Leave Parliament in Protest

LD2006212095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The tension between the coalition and the parliamentary opposition, which reached its peak in the afternoon, may ease after Prime Minister Gyula Horn made a conciliatory statement. Gyula Horn and Ivan Szabo, leader of the deputies group of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], spoke to the radio after the opposition deputies left the parliament session in protest against the prime minister's remarks. Andras Domany reports from parliament:

[Domany] Gyula Horn said a short while ago that since the opposition parties had distanced themselves from extremist forces, he was ready to publish a correction in the German paper SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG. Ivan Szabo, leader of the MDF deputies group, regarded it as sufficient amends.

It is the prime minister's interview in the German paper, in which he said that certain Hungarian parliamentary parties supported extremist and racist forces, that has led to the affair. In reply to an interpretation, he repeated this today by saying, on the basis of press reports, that the Independent Smallholders' Party had been linked with extremists on several occasions, and even the MDF and Fidesz [Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party], in connection with a demonstration in March.

All three opposition parties rejected the accusation very firmly. Laszlo Koever of Fidesz said, I quote, that those who were armed members of the terrorist organization of a system of ruthless exploitation, treason, and totalitarianism are not in the ranks of today's opposition.

In the tense atmosphere, to which other topics such as the 16 million forint severance pay for Finance Minister Lajos Bokros also contributed, all four opposition parties decided to leave today's session in protest. [passage omitted]

SZDSZ Blames Horn, Opposition for 'Scandal'

LD2106104295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a late night session yesterday the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], the junior government coalition party, discussed yesterday's parliamentary scandal [when the opposition walked out as a response to Prime Minister Gyula Horn's answer to a question]. Judit Laszlo reports:

[Laszlo] The SZDSZ parliamentary group accepted the prime minister's answer to an interpellation by Laszlo Kover, a parliamentary deputy from the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party [Fidesz-MPP], from loyalty alone and not because they agreed with him, said Ivan Peto, SZDSZ parliamentary group chairman. In a parliamentary democracy it would be the end of the government coalition if a coalition partner voted against the prime minister in political matters, and

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this was taken into consideration by SZDSZ deputies, he added.

According to the SZDSZ, the prime minister's interview given to the German paper [criticized in parliament 12 June] was unfortunate.

The SZDSZ parliamentary group holds the prime minister responsible for this problem. However, the SZDSZ would not say that all the responsibility lies with the prime minister because the opposition, too, have made many offensive remarks about the government coalition parties. The SZDSZ would like to see an end to this practice in parliament.

Incidentally, Ivan Peto spoke to the prime minister yesterday about what happened in parliament. According to our information, the prime minister suggested that the two party chairmen should jointly participate in the "Extra" radio program and in a press briefing in parliament, but the SZDSZ turned down this opportunity.

Possible Split of MDF Leaders, Members Viewed

AU2006155495 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 Jun 95 pp 1-2

[Interview with Gyorgy Schamschula, parliamentary deputy of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Rita Csik; place and date not given: "The MDF's Membership and Leadership Might Split"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Hungarian Democratic Forum's [MDF] executive committee has accused parliamentary deputy Gyorgy Schamschula of ethical misconduct. The committee dealing with the affair will hear Schamschula today and might even expel him from the party. He claims that this is a political case against him and, through him, against the party's populist wing. [passage omitted]

[Csik] What is the difference between the populist wing and the other groups?

[Schamschula] The MDF's basis is too broad to be able to form a unified party. [Former Chairman] Jozsef Antall defined the tendencies as populist-national, national liberal, and Christian democratic. After a while, the difference between the liberal and the populist groups became ever more definite, and the Christian line died out. The liberals want a civic center party. The populists conduct their politics based on the ideology of the former smallholders party and peasant party. The political groups are linked to personalities. The fight between the tendencies culminates as a fight between people. This is why I am claiming that the procedure conducted against me intends to discredit and ostracize the tendency to which my name is also linked.

[Csik] What is the difference between the policies of the two groups?

[Schamschula] The current party leadership has a loyal opposition attitude. However, in my view, we must prevent the Socialist-Free Democrat government from completing its four years in office. They are taking the country's economic affairs in a catastrophic direction. The party leadership argues for the four-year term because this is the amount of time needed to strengthen the MDF. Through marked politics, we must achieve the replacement of the government before the catastrophe happens, even if this is not the most advantageous solution for the MDF.

[Csik] How united is the MDF's executive committee in showing a loyal opposition attitude?

[Schamschula] I am not a member of this body, however, I have heard that differences of opinion also exist within the executive committee. This is not a secret among MDF members.

[Csik] You said that certain persons characterize the groups. Do you consider Deputy Chairmen Sandor Lezsak and Peter Boross to be representatives of the populist wing?

[Schamschula] Yes, we can say that.

[Csik] What about Executive Deputy Chairman Ivan Szabo and Deputy Chairman Ferenc Kulin?

[Schamschula] They belong to the other line.

[Csik] And Party Chairman Lajos Fur?

[Schamschula] I do not know.... Last autumn, at the election of the chairman, I withdrew for his benefit. I would not do the same now.

[Csik] Does the membership support the line represented by the executive committee?

[Schamschula] At the ninth national meeting, 41 percent of the delegates supported me and voted me into the executive committee. This was too little. However, when the party's program was defined, the majority of the delegates did not support the executive committee's proposal that wanted to exclude the Independent Smallholders Party from the opposition parties' alliance. The delegates voted for Boross's proposal that facilitated four-party cooperation. The membership became politically opposed to the executive committee. If the membership and the leadership become split, then the reason will be that the members want a center-right people's party while the leadership is for a party based on the middle classes. If the leadership and the membership move in different directions, the party will lose its essence,

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voters, and political influence. If, on the basis of the executive committee's program, we become markedly stronger in the coming months, then we must follow the line proposed by them. However, if we continue to be in fifth place among the parties, then we must make a radical change.

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Izetbegovic: U.S. Policy Under London Influence

AU2106082295 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 16 Jun 95 p 7

[Interview with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, by Zdravko Latal in Sarajevo on 15 June: "Bosnia Might Withdraw Hospitality to UN Units"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Latal] Mr. President, you conditionally agreed to the deployment of the "green helmets" [Rapid Reaction Force—RRF]; however, lately it has appeared increasingly likely that these troops might step on the separation lines. In doing so, they would actually be preserving the status quo, which is something that the legitimate authorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot agree to. Under what conditions would you support the arrival of these units?

[Izetbegovic] The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina at its last session already answered this question. It was stated in the reply that we were not opposed to the arrival of these forces "if and for as long as they assist the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in the implementation of its mission." This mission is threefold: accompanying humanitarian convoys, protecting the safe havens (I am primarily thinking of the enclaves on the Drina), and safeguarding the functioning of Sarajevo airport. The UN troops can be useful to a greater or lesser degree; however, they must not be harmful, by which I mean that they cannot work against the interests of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Latal] Mt. Igman is of extreme strategic importance to Sarajevo. The French Blue Helmets in this area have already received reinforcements, which are still arriving. A British reconnaissance unit has also visited Mt. Igman. Did they agree these transfers of international troops with your government? Is there a danger that the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina might become a training ground, where foreign armies would do as they please in the air and on the ground?

[Izetbegovic] As for the sky, these forces are doing a useful job for us because they are stopping Serbian aircraft from flying. As for the ground, they are slightly less useful, although they do not cause us harm either. We are very touchy on the subject of our independence. Would we otherwise have fought with our hands tied for three years against a stronger attacker? People who are paying as high a price for freedom as we are are not willing to negotiate this freedom with the first Frenchman or Englishman who might come along.

[Latal] The rumor in Sarajevo these days is that the blockade of the city might be lifted. At the same time, there are reports about new successes of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army on nearly all the fronts. Have you stepped up the military actions because of the arrival of the RRF, which might slow down or prevent the opening of the city?

[Izetbegovic] We plan our military actions independently. These operations depend on our military capability, not on the presence of the United Nations. The United Nations plays a specific role and for as long as it performs it, everything is all right.

[Latal] UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali made some statements for the media few days ago. He proposed a new London conference and the inclusion of the Pale leadership in the peace negotiations. What is your stance?

[Izetbegovic] Political negotiations on the solution will continue when the Serbs accept the Contact Group plan. This plan is still on the table. Proposing a sort of a new conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina is an unsubtle attempt to help Karadzic out of his political isolation. We certain have no reasons to help him in this.

[Latal] The international community is persistently demanding that Milosevic recognize the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. What would you concretely gain by this?

[Izetbegovic] If Milosevic recognizes Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Serbs in Bosnia and in Krajina will realize that nothing will come of the idea of Greater Serbia, for which this war was actually started. This will be the political defeat of Karadzic and Martic and the rules of the war say that political defeat is always followed by military defeat.

[Latal] Dr. Ejup Ganic is optimistic and Dr. Haris Silajdzic pessimistic regarding the possibilities of the lifting of the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina. What is your opinion on the possible lifting of the embargo and U.S. policy in Bosnia in general?

[Izetbegovic] To my knowledge they were both optimists prior to Silajdzic's visit to the United States. Regardless of their statements, I do not think that they are pessimists today, as they have no reason to be. Very influential elements in the United States favor the lifting of the arms embargo. All three of us are very close on this issue. This is one policy, not three. As for U.S. policy on Bosnia, I certainly have no reason to be satisfied. Generally speaking, I believe that the United States is too much under the influence of London. This, of course, is not good; however, that is the way things stand.

[Latal] The talks planned between the representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government and Slovenia have

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been postponed several times. President Milan Kucan's trip to Sarajevo also has. How do you see relations between the countries and what are the main problems facing cooperation between the two countries? Are you perhaps planning a visit to Ljubljana?

[Izetbegovic] Relations between the countries are good. There is not one subject that would burden them except for the war, of course, which hinders relations greatly and makes mutual visits and contacts difficult. I definitely consider Slovenia to be a friendly nation. For the time being, I intend to remain in Bosnia. Everything that is important is happening here. However, please convey my regards to the readers of DELO.

Comment: European Pressure on Clinton Over Embargo

AU2106075095 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 15-22 Jun 95 p 1

[Commentary by Hamza Baksic: "The Embargo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] What the majority of Bosnians had expected, based upon the experience gained at the college of skepticism in this war, has happened: The arms embargo will not be lifted.

Bosnia-Herzegovina is being denied the right to legitimate self-defense. The latest events involving the top leaders of the United States in the international context convey two messages.

First, those good, old, polycentric structures have well established braking systems in every segment that prevent any decision from being made that is not backed by a sufficient number of power centers. This decreases their formal efficiency but increases security. In measuring the respective strengths of the President and Congress, what is being measured actually is to what extent the United States—rather than one of its institutions or some authorized individual—is able to persevere with its intentions.

In its resolution on Bosnia-Herzegovina, Congress has made two gestures. The first one is declarative: the famous three-to-one vote for "the Bosnian Amendment." The second one comes closer to pragmatic politics. It has to do with the small advantage that enabled the act containing the amendment to be passed. In the second one, there are declarative elements as well, but the president's veto was expected, at least by those who were well informed on the situation.

All this, of course, does not mean that the power structure cannot change tomorrow or that the opposite decision might not be made, which could affect relations among the great powers more than the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina itself could. For if Bosnia-Herzegovina had been asked, the arms embargo would not have been imposed in the first place.

The second lesson from the latest series of events also has to do with the arms embargo and this is that the great powers will not renounce something in which they have already invested so much money and their reputation. They will not renounce their power to influence the outcome of the Bosnian crisis. The European pressure put on Clinton to threaten to use his veto and the European expeditionary corps in Bosnia—for it is a corps—suggest that the lifting of the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina has been assessed abroad in the same way as here. This means the possibility or probability for the Bosnians to settle their problem by themselves, to reconstruct this multiethnic society in the middle of the Balkans. That would suit the United States, since it is a multiethnic community of a particular kind, but not the Europeans. They want to create a simplified situation in the Balkans, with states on which they would be able to exert influence easily and with a relatively clear division of spheres of interest. A multiethnic and truly integral Bosnia-Herzegovina, with connections throughout the world, would be an exception to the string of these midget states that are planned in the Balkans.

In all this one might find the reason why UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] was first reduced to the level of boy scouts, and now effectively abolished, even though it is still physically present here. Its possible withdrawal, from which the typical media melodrama is being made, would create for a certain time a situation open to all options, in which everybody would be using any means. Bosnia should be politically prepared for that moment at least as much as the other protagonists are.

Silajdzic on Appeal by Serbs to U.S., Germany

LD2006222595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An indication of the increasingly difficult situation in the aggressors' ranks is provided by an appeal that their leaders sent yesterday to the United States and Germany. We have some comments on this, this evening, by Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which he made in a conversation with Jadranko Katan, a journalist of Bosnia-Herzegovina television.

[Begin recording] [Katan] Prime Minister, the Pale regime yesterday sent an appeal to the United States and Germany to exert pressure on the Bosnian Government to halt their actions around Sarajevo. Would you like to comment on this? Have there already been such contacts with the United States or Germany?

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[Silajdzic] Well, terrorist organizations began to contact the United Nations and Germany—it is good to know. Regarding pressure, for two years now the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been banned from arming itself. Let me remind you that the request for the embargo was made by Belgrade in September 1991. In other words, knowing that they had weapons and that we did not, they sought to impose an embargo against us and they got the embargo. Why the democratic countries of the world are following this policy of Belgrade's is a completely different issue. They do not want to resolve the matter. If it is to be resolved, it is we who will resolve it. That is the point. Contacts have begun between the terrorist organization in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the United Nations and Germany. This will be good for the U.S. public to know and learn [words indistinct].

[Katan] [words indistinct] UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] has announced that Pale is ready to restore water, electricity, and gas supplies to Sarajevo within 48 hours without any conditions whatsoever.

[Silajdzic] This means that they are acknowledging that they are carrying out genocidal actions against Sarajevo, by turning off the water, gas, electricity, and so on. So this will be easy for the court at The Hague. By this action they themselves have admitted that they have perpetrated genocide against Sarajevo.

Let me say one thing: we must be aware of the fact that even though this century which is coming to an end began in a peaceful and prosperous way, nevertheless at least 165 million people in the world have been killed because of political violence, including the two world wars—165 million people killed in a century which should have been peaceful. What is happening to us is only a drop in the ocean and one should view it in this light.

The problem lies in the fact that a new century is dawning, and it appears that it will be a tragedy. The problem is that you have no one in the world to tell this to. Everyone is worrying only about their next elections. Thus, many things will have to be reexamined. The democratic system as it is must be reexamined. It will bring chaos and anarchy in the future. [end recording]

Silajdzic: $10 Million in Aid From Kuwait

AU2006200595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Jun 95

[Report by Mladen Bosnjak]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The session of the Government of Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina that started in Sarajevo yesterday ended today. The session was chaired by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic. Mladen Bosnjak has the details.

[Bosnjak] We will begin the report on today's part of the session by reporting on the end of the 58th government's session. Adhering to the adopted agenda, in a discussion of various issues Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic informed those present that we... [trails off]

[Begin Silajdzic recording in progress] ...have received from the Kuwaiti Government information that as a result of the government's delegation visit to Kuwait, the Kuwaiti Government has decided to send us humanitarian aid worth $10 million. We will find a way to thank the Kuwaiti Government for its prompt reaction at a time when we need the help most. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Bildt, Stoltenberg Meet With Minister Muratovic

AU2006184095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Jun 95

[Report by Mirsan Behran from Mostar]

[FBIS Translated Text] Carl Bildt and Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairmen of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia, today visited Mostar as part of their visit to our country. The prominent guests were received by Hasan Muratovic, minister in the Government of the Federation and Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mirsad Behran reports from Mostar:

[Behran] The talks were held behind the closed doors in the building of the Presidency of Mostar Municipality. After that, the participants in the talks addressed journalists.

Mr. Bildt said that, after the meeting with the representatives of European governments, he came to the former Yugoslavia to examine the situation on the ground. Today, he visited Mostar and will already travel to Zagreb tonight, and then to Belgrade, where he will hold talks with the presidents of Serbia and Croatia.

There were plans to hold this meeting in Sarajevo, the capital city of our country, but, as Carl Bildt said, this would have not been a correct decision at this moment, and therefore the meeting took place in Mostar.

In reply to a journalist's question as to whether the current situation around Sarajevo was discussed today, Mr. Bildt said that this topic was not touched upon and that the talks focused on how to start political negotiations considering that, as he said, there can be no military solution to the crisis, only political.

Commenting on today's meeting with the cochairmen of the Conference of the Former Yugoslavia, Mr.

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Muratovic, minister in the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said that views were exchanged on the current situation and the future activities aimed at finding a final peace solution.

After the talks, Messrs. Carl Bildt and Thorvald Stoltenberg, accompanied by the hosts from Mostar and Minister Muratovic, visited the east part of the town.

Muslims, Croats Agree To Step Up Cooperation

LD2006121095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and Mehmed Alagic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 7th Corps, met with generals Filip Filipovic and Zivko Budimir, two representatives of the main headquarters of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], the information service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has announced. The meeting was also attended by Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

They agreed to step up coordinated military activities between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO and to implement all the provisions from the military agreement reached by Bosniak and Croatian representatives at the meeting in Travnik.

Aim To Liberate Federation

AU2006184595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After visiting Kiseljak, Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said that the goal of the joint operations of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Army is to liberate the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Zubak said this was also the moral and political duty of the top representatives of the Croat people to the Croats in Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The top political and military representatives of the Bosniak and Croat people yesterday visited Kiseljak and saw for themselves how the agreement on joint operations to liberate the country that was recently reached in Travnik by the Army and HVO is being implemented on the ground.

HVO Commander: 'Extremely Good' Cooperation

AU2006140295 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jun 95 p 7

[Interview with Bihac HVO commander Ivan Prsa by Jozo Pavkovic; place and date not given: "After Sarajevo—Bihac"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ivan Prsa (42) is the new commander of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] for Bihac. He was a lieutenant in the air force of the former Yugoslav People's Army. [passage omitted]

[Pavkovic] How is the HVO organized in the Bihac enclave?

[Prsa] The HVO has its units, we have our Ante Knezevic-Krpe Regiment and combat units that are not within its structure. We have the strength of an infantry brigade, which means 2,000 to 2,500 men. That is an imposing force that can defend a large territory.

Unity in Defense

[Pavkovic] What is cooperation like between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army?

[Prsa] It is extremely good and correct, particularly militarily. We have a common enemy and we defend the same area. Therefore, if the defense lines were to collapse in one part, we would all be in the same trouble. We defend ourselves together and we share the same fate. That is why we are committed to unity in defense. We have the same logistics and supplies, which means that everything that a soldier of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has, a soldier of the HVO has, and vice versa. But we each have our own theater of operations: The HVO defends its theater, has its own command, and answers to the HVO and Herzeg-Bosnia chief of staff.

[Pavkovic] What is the current military situation like?

[Prsa] We are faced with daily attacks by the Serb aggressor. Recently, after their offensives, the HVO and the 5th Corps put up a determined and successful defensive operation against all the attacks by the Serb troops and in a strong counteroffensive inflicted heavy losses on the Serb side. We now control the area of the Grmusa Plateau, Radic, Pritoka, Ripac, Lohovo, and Racic, which is about 100 square kilometers of newly liberated territory. The HVO is still being forced to respond to daily enemy attacks, which we are doing very successfully in our theater of operations.

Most Crucial Spot

[Pavkovic] Which areas are these?

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[Prsa] We are on the border between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Therefore, we are defending Mt. Pljesevica, and south and west of Bihac. For two years there was hardly any fighting on that front, but over the last six months, when they launched their offensive on Bihac, this front has been reactivated and heavy fighting takes place every day there. We are successfully defending the new lines, that is, we are successfully protecting the state border.

[Pavkovic] Will you succeed in that?

[Prsa] The enemy's goal is to conquer this territory as soon as possible. Bihac is the most crucial spot in Bosnia-Herzegovina and if the enemy is allowed to take it, then their wish to create a "greater Serbia" will become a reality. If Bihac falls, it will be very hard to prevent them in that. The enemy is doing everything to succeed and we know what that would mean for the Croats. [passage omitted]

Alarm the Public

[Pavkovic] What is the situation like in Velika Kladusa and the surrounding area?

[Prsa] The situation there is gradually normalizing. The enemy offensive is abating, that is, the 5th Corps is stabilizing and creating the conditions for a counterattack.

[Pavkovic] What has happened to Fikret Abdic?

[Prsa] Abdic has placed himself in the service of the greater Serbian goals. Several months ago he had some success in his attacks on Bihac and took some territory. However, that has been halted now and the conditions already exist for a counterattack. The five-month cease-fire was never observed here. Abdic's and the chetnik forces, with the help of reinforcements, have been attacking our enclave from all their positions, but they have tried to present it to the public as an inter-Muslim conflict. That is not true, this is an attack on our region.

[Pavkovic] How well is the public informed about the situation in the Bihac enclave?

[Prsa] We are also isolated from the media. We have been an enclave for over three and a half years. The domestic public, and particularly the world public, has to know that Bihac is not a protected zone and be told what is happening. They might help us if they knew the truth.

Serbs Attack French Peacekeepers in Sarajevo

AU2006203695 Paris AFP in English 1922 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, June 20 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs attacked French peacekeepers in the Bosnian capital for the second time in one day on Tuesday, firing three antitank rockets at their observation post, UN officials said.

The peackeepers were fired on from a Serb position sited on top of a building known as the Casino Building. French troops responded with warning shots from automatic weapons followed by a burst of fire from a 20 mm cannon, UN spokesman Major Guy Vinet said. There were no casualties.

Earlier on Tuesday, Serb forces fired 15 tank rounds at another French manned UN observation post at Hotonj to the north of the city.

The peacekeepers replied with several rounds from their Sagaie light tanks destroying the Serb weapon and probably killed its operator, a UN spokesman said.

The exchange occurred during a brief flare up in fighting between Bosnian Serb forces and the Bosnian army early Tuesday evening. Vinet said calm returned to the area around the peackeepers' post in the "Jewish Cemetery" area of the capital after the French soldiers had replied to the attack.

Kostroman: Serb Aggressor Like Headless Chicken

AU2006141895 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jun 95 p 7

[Interview with Ignac Kostroman, "chief of the Political Administration of the Defense Ministry of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia," by Z. Mihaljevic; place and date not given: "Lifting the Siege—The Only Solution"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We have been speaking to Mr. Ignac Kostroman, chief of the Political Administration of the Defense Ministry of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, about the latest developments on the Livno-Grahovo-Glamoc front and the lifting of the Sarajevo siege.

[Mihaljevic] Mr. Kostroman, can you comment briefly on the latest Serb shelling of Livno?

[Kostroman] The Serb aggressor has recently taken increasingly to shelling civilian targets, not only in Livno but throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina and this points to their impotence. We have shown that we can and will not only defend ourselves but also liberate the occupied territories in Herzeg-Bosnia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Mihaljevic] What is the situation like on the Livno-Grahovo-Glamoc front?

[Kostroman] We have captured all the dominant positions on Mt. Dinara and Mt. Sator, which is a significant

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victory. The victory on the Samac-Orasje front is also important, where the Serb aggressor has tried all means available to widen the corridor and capture Orasje. We have shown that Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units are strong not only on the Livno front but also throughout Herzeg-Bosnia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Mihaljevic] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has launched an operation to lift the siege of Sarajevo. Is this operation being coordinated with the HVO?

[Kostroman] Ever since the joint headquarters was formed to coordinate operations between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, nothing has been happening by chance in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have had success in all our operations, we have stretched and routed to a great extent the aggressor's forces, and that is our great advantage. At the moment the Serb aggressor is like a headless chicken, not knowing where to concentrate new forces, and where to bring them from. The HVO also has a theater of operations near Sarajevo, so it is clear that we are coordinating operations.

[Mihaljevic] How could the operation to lift the siege of Sarajevo reflect on the situation on other fronts?

[Kostroman] The balance of forces is changing. The Serb aggressor still has an advantage in heavy artillery, but the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has the human factor and is better organized now. Hence one can expect fierce fighting around Sarajevo. It is quite a wide front and the only thing that one can expect with certainty is that casualties on both sides will be heavy. However, the Serbs will be stretched thin through coordinated operations by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO, and that is our advantage. [passage omitted]

Buha: More Hostages If NATO Strikes Again

AU2006134595 Munich FOCUS in German 19 Jun 95 p 266

[Interview with Aleksa Buha, "foreign minister" of the "Serb Republic," by Nigel Rahimpour; place and date not given: "'Muslims Have No Chance'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rahimpour] Is there any place for non-Serbs in the Pan-Serbian unity state that you are trying to establish?

[Buha] As Serbs should live in the Muslim-Croatian Federation, Croats and Muslims may live with us. At the moment, thousands of Muslims and Croats are living in the cities of Doboj, Bijeljina, or Banja Luka.

[Rahimpour] .... and they are being expelled.

[Buha] Not expelled, they are entitled to leave the Serbian Republic. That is a big difference to the Serbs living in Sarajevo, Tuzla, or elsewhere, who are not entitled to move out. They are virtually hostages in the Muslim-Croatian Federation.

[Rahimpour] Yet, the Muslims and Croats that you expelled are entitled to take along only the clothes they have on their backs.

[Buha] Well, that is what this civil war is like. One can only choose between a lesser and a greater evil. These people at least have the chance to save their lives. There are people who cannot even do that. I have lived in Sarajevo for 30 years and lost everything. There are refugees on all sides. Some 15,000 Serbs were expelled from western Slavonia, several thousands were even killed on the spot, and the international community did not react.

[Rahimpour] Serbian President Milosevic is ready to recognize Bosnia and accept the Contact Group plan—is that the end of the Pan-Serbian ambitions?

[Buha] Why the end? If unification cannot be had at the moment, at least the Krajina Serbs can join up with the Serb Republic. Besides, what is to be recognized? Bosnia? That does not exist. After all, we are in control of more than 63 percent.

[Rahimpour] Still, Milosevic has accepted the Contact Group plan.

[Buha] The government in Belgrade has accepted all plans so far. We were forced to accept the division of the territory. Muslims and Croats got their own state. We want a state of our own, too, and the right to self-determination.

[Rahimpour] Would the Serbs take hostages again if NATO were to launch further strikes?

[Buha] Yes, if the bombings were to continue.

[Rahimpour] Do you think that the remainder of Yugoslavia would come to your help if you were to get into dire straits?

[Rahimpour] Yes, there is a big difference between Serbia's leadership and the people. The Muslims have no chance of defeating us.

Akashi Statement 'Deepens' UN-Serb 'Abyss'

LD2006203295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1942 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 20 Jun (SRNA)—Jovan Zametica, adviser to the President of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, assessed as "strange" a statement issued by Yasushi Akashi, UN secretary general's special envoy for former Yugoslavia, in which the Serb

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side is condemned for the exacerbation of the military and humanitarian situation in the Sarajevo area.

In a statement forwarded to SRNA, Zametica recalls that the Muslims were those who launched an all-out offensive against the Serbs and that this statement by Akashi "deepens the abyss between the United Nations and the Serbs."

"What is even stranger is that Mr. Akashi gave a go-ahead for the NATO air strikes against Pale, which was in no respect linked with any Serb action, and which has caused the current crisis," Zametica recalls in the statement, adding:

"We genuinely wish to improve our relations with the United Nations, but this will be impossible if the UN insists on issuing threats to the Serbs as the only side responsible for the crisis."

Appeal to Serbs Not To 'Listen to' Karadzic

AU2006153595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Association of Refugees and Displaced Persons of Bosnia-Herzegovina has sent a proclamation to the Serbs living on the temporarily occupied territories of Ilidza, Hadzici, Vogosca, Ilijas, and Grbavica, which states the following, among other things:

Do not listen to the Serbs from Pale and the criminal Karadzic, who will ask you to leave your homes and go to his so-called Serb Republic, where he will allegedly provide you with comfortable accommodation. It is high time to oppose the criminal Karadzic and to cohabitate in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. To be a refugee, which is what is awaiting you if you do not think properly and leave your entire property behind, is one of the most difficult things in life. Join our efforts to preserve our common state, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as this and the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina are your guarantee that you will continue to live in Ilidza, Ilijas, Vogosca, Hadzici, and Grbavica.

This, among other things, was stated in the proclamation.

Comment: B-H Army's Capacity To Unblock Sarajevo

AU2106082695 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jun 95 p 9

[Commentary by Fran Visnar: "Manpower Against War Machinery"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The great concentration of troops of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] around Sarajevo (it involves parts of as many as four army corps) at the moment is more a demonstration of strength and determination than the beginning of a great and serious offensive against the Serbian positions. At this stage, with regard to the Serbs, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army cannot achieve any strategic surprise, but by stressing its readiness and mobility, as well as sticking to the principle of keeping initiative and activity on the front against the Serbs, it is making clear to the other side that the lifting of the siege around Sarajevo is its main task and the prior national goal.

The Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina is really capable of amassing 30,000 men around the martyr city, who are experienced soldiers and who will show full determination in fighting at close quarters and capability to act on any kind of ground and in any kind of weather conditions. By making the most varied tactical steps, aptly combining maneuvering, artillery fire and attacks, the Army is able to crush the tactically far stronger enemy, and not on all fronts at once, but exclusively in certain sectors of the Serbian defense, for instance at Ilijas or Vogosca.

Is this realistic and feasible around Sarajevo? The Army's infantry, particularly the units around Visoko and Breza, are characterized by high mobility, powerful fire capacity, capacity to wage antitank and anti-air-force warfare, as well as to react against parachute landing operations. At the same time the infantry is well trained in handling and efficiently using small and heavy arms, its combat morale is quite high, while in terms of psychophysical readiness it is well prepared to endure any challenge, including its readiness to self-sacrifice. In the past period all those units have been trained to aptly take advantage of terrain and existing facilities, and to swiftly adapt them so as to provide protection for people and against artillery fire.

The most valuable part of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is the mountain infantry (which is not the case with Serbs, so that the general infantry, which they call light-assault brigades, involves 80 percent of manpower). The mountain infantry units are trained for hard fighting on mountainous and wooded ground. At

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the same time they are capable of quickly adapting themselves to operations on maneuvering ground when they are backed up by antitank artillery and machinery, which makes possible greater mobility and relieves pressure put on troops. In addition to fighting in woods and mountains, those units are capable of carrying out operations in populated areas, destroying the enemy gradually (house by house, street by street).

However, despite all the advantages, the lack of heavy artillery is still the Army's main problem. The comparison of forces speaks in favor of that. In the entire broader region of Sarajevo the Serbs have mobilized 33,000 men altogether, of which 8,000 infantrymen are deployed in the "Serbian" part of Sarajevo alone, while 4,000 additional troops are deployed as artillery units in several rings stretching within the 30-kilometer radius around the city. The relation in heavy artillery is 10 to one to the Serbs' advantage, in mortars it is five to one, while in tanks, howitzers, armored vehicles and aggregate heavy machinery it is 15 to one.

Even with a half of what the Serbs have, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army would considerably reduce the number of casualties, and it would increase its aggregate fire capacity, as well as the chances of lifting the siege around Sarajevo. Without it, the Bosniaks as well as the Serbs around Sarajevo and in Sarajevo are facing bloody and merciless battles involving infantry, trench warfare and artillery similar to those in World War I, or in the eight-year long war between Iraq and Iran.

The final decision will take place in the next five weeks, while in the next several days a whole series of demonstrative clashes will take place in which both sides will test the strength of their respective defense lines, weaponry and strategic plans.

Comment: UN Financing Karadzic's War Machinery

AU2006204095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Jun 95

[Unattributed commentary]

[FBIS Translated Text] Despite their official mandate, the Blue Helmets in this region are increasingly often becoming the object of the domestic public's criticism because of concrete moves on the ground. Justification of the criticism levied against them is confirmed by the following information.

Since their very arrival in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, members of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] have gone to great lengths in the attempt to give the impression of being impartial peacekeepers. However, with a few honorable exceptions from some countries, we all know to what extent the Blue Helmets were trying to accommodate the aggressor. The latest example that proves this happened the day before yesterday, when UNPROFOR members exchanged four chetniks captured in the fighting on the Vrbanja Most on 27 May for UNPROFOR members who had been held hostages in Nedjarici, Osijek (east of Sarajevo], and near the Forestry School in Ilidza.

The exchange took place despite the fact that, according to international law, Karadzic's terrorists were not prisoners of war—as the United Nations in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina are not, at least not officially, party to the conflict.

The unavoidable Slobodan Milosevic also played a role in the exchange. For the release of French Blue Helmets, he approved the import to Pale of a convoy of the Orkan and Oganj missiles and artillery ammunition of the highest caliber from Serbia, which were paid for by someone.

Did the negotiators, contrary to their mandate, bring the UN money for the shells and missiles that will land on Bosnian towns? Instead of keeping the peace, they are financing Karadzic's war machinery.

Background Provided on B-H Army Special Units

95BA0272A Split EKSKLUZIV in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 95 p 5

[Article by Osman Hadzic: "'Swans' Within Reach of the Drina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Many military theorists have already included a new term in their vocabulary: "Bosnian commando." It refers to a member of a special unit of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] who at any moment and in any place will perform the mission he is assigned. He is a well-drilled, well-equipped, and experienced soldier who carries out orders without objection, but he is also ready to do what the enemy will least expect with the decisions he makes on his own in the course of battle. Above all, this soldier loves his homeland, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and is ready to sacrifice himself for its freedom.

The armies of the world boast of their elite units, or so-called commandos, who are specially selected and trained in the best training centers; they have behind them a lengthy period of training in operating under all conditions, and they are equipped with the best weapons. Although the fighting men in the special units of the Army of B-H mainly do not have that "pedigree," they are nevertheless earning a special status.

The reason for this lies above all in the fact that these elite units were created during the war, they

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have acquired immense experience unavailable in any military academy, and above all they have exceptional motivation, because they are waging liberation war, and these soldiers are one of the reasons why the infantrymen of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is still underequipped, are classified among the best in the world.

The first special missions in defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina were taken up by members of the B-H MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs], who were trained to do this even before the war; however, as the B-H Army matured, special-purpose units were created. One of them is the Black Swans, an elite unit of the General Staff [GS] of the B-H Army. Many fighting men who see them in their area know that it will be getting "hot" or "thick," for this unit is always on the field of the fiercest battles, and the other units go through the breaches they make.

The Black Swans carried out one of their recent successful missions in the Zvornik theater. Specifically, together with members of the 24th Gazije Division, these elite soldiers took Visoka Glavica and Elevation 621, which brought them within only four kilometers of the Drina. Previously they carried out a successful action in Vlasic, when they liberated the Paljenik relay station and several other important strategic points.

The Black Swans are actually a special unit of the GS of the B-H Army, and it is clear from that that they are not assigned to any particular zone of operations. Their zone is as broad as the objective of the entire struggle, which is liberation of all of Bosnia-Herzegovina from the Serbochetnik aggressors. That is why these lads, who are fearless, can say that their home is everywhere in liberated Bosnia-Herzegovina; that is, it grows larger and larger with the spread of the freedom they are bringing.

So far the Black Swans have taken part in a number of missions conducted successfully since 1992 and the beginning of the expansionist Serbian aggression. They were created in Bijeljina, which is where their present commander, 30-year-old Hase Tiric, comes from. As a member of the Patriotic League, he established this unit, which was the first to resist the aggressor when he began his bloody campaign. After Bijeljina, they went to the Zvornik theater, and then to Igman.

This unit has been augmented with new fighting men, especially from the occupied areas, and a large number of them are from Bosanska Krajina. They have been inflicting fierce blows on the enemy, since they have taken part in a number of well-organized commando operations. They became particularly well known when they carried out an operation at the Sarajevo Recreational Airport, where under cover of darkness they destroyed one MiG-21 in the revetments, seriously damaged two others, and eliminated several aggressor soldiers. The commander of the Swans received the Gold Lily for that exploit.

Then came action near Hadzici, where they blew up an enemy weapons depot, then the glorious battles at Vozuca, Nisicka Visoravan, Cemerska Planina, and then Vlasic, and finally the fantastic successes in eastern Bosnia. Another indication that the Black Swans are a unit of heroes is that more than 20 of its members have been decorated with the Gold Lily, a recognition awarded only to the best.

The Black Swans have flown high in achieving freedom wherever they have been. They signify fear and trembling for the chetniks, who lose their heads just at learning that Hase Tiric's lads are nearby. And that is how it will be until the ultimate triumph of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Report on Difficult Daily Life in Srebrenica

95BA0272B Split EKSKLUZIV in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 95 p 6

[Article by N. Sabitovic: "For a Grain of Salt"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Srebrenica, which shares the fate of the other surrounded enclaves, has also been experiencing difficult days recently. Following a period of relative peace the chetniks in nearby positions are again sending artillery shells into the very center of the city, even though this is a "protected area" of the United Nations. Srebrenica has a population of about 45,000, including both the original inhabitants and the recently arrived refugees from areas in eastern Bosnia, so that the question of bare survival is crucial for all of them.

That is, the aid of the international community rarely reaches the city, and from statements of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] and UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees], their supply plan has been fulfilled at only 50 percent. There is no need to even speak of what this means to the suffering and hungry population. They are seeking a way out by planting every square meter of arable land, which again has been done partially, because they did not have enough seed wheat and barley.

People in Srebrenica are short of everything, beginning with food and drugs, all the way to clothing and footwear. The datum that there is also a shortage of salt, which is essential to human development, especially that of children, best illustrates the situation. Nor are things any better with clothing and footwear. People are literally both naked and barefoot, or at best they are

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wearing rags that they have been wearing for all of three years now.

Because of the heavy damage to the present housing stock and the enormously high inflow of displaced persons, the situation with accommodations cannot be called satisfactory either. Numerous families have been put up in improvised dwellings, in sheds, basements, and garages. On top of all that, there is a shortage of firewood, which in spite of promises the UNHCR has been unable to furnish in sufficient quantity.

As for health care and public health, it should be said that they are much better than last year. The number of infectious diseases has been brought down, but still there is tuberculosis, jaundice, and other diseases. The hospital is unable to care for all those seeking help, both because it lacks the space and also because of the chronic shortage of drugs. The pharmacy does not even have enough vaccine for newborn infants.

There are also big problems for the schools in Srebrenica, but classes are continuing nevertheless. The central and eight district elementary schools are open, and rapid preparations are also being made to open the secondary schools, where classes should soon begin. Nevertheless, this all looks like improvisation when you realize that elementary school children in Srebrenica have one notebook and one pencil per class.

But what disturbs the people of Srebrenica the most are the renewed attacks on the city and the penetrations of chetnik troops to the depth of the "protected area."

In some parts of the opstina the chetniks have advanced nearly two kilometers into the UNPROFOR area and are grouping their forces there so that they can mount attacks more easily. Nevertheless, Srebrenica is not surrendering, people are being born, they are living, and they are dying. This is not normal life, but pure improvisation. The people of Srebrenica are asking the world, which is supposedly protecting them, how long this will be the case. Have they been condemned to isolation and slow death, or will the day of their freedom come? They all believe in the latter; they just wonder if by that time there will be anyone in this city who can rejoice at that freedom.

Article Discusses Serbian POW's in Tuzla

95BA0272C Split EKSKLUZIV in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 95 p 7

[Article by Mate Bikic: "Let Everyone Answer for His Deeds!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Some newspapermen from Tuzla recently paid an unusual visit. They visited Serbian prisoners of war. Some had been in prison more than a year, some more than half a year, without the authorities in Pale showing an interest and willingness to exchange them and return them to their homes and families. For some of them, they themselves say, the uncertainty has become unbearable. They are grateful, they say, that the 2d Corps of the B-H Army and the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities have called upon Radovan Karadzic to make an exchange, and they are disappointed that he has been dragging his feet on this.

About 150 of Karadzic's followers are counting the days in the Tuzla prison at the moment. No fewer than 40 of them were captured a year ago at Vijenac, on Ozren, when the fighting men of the 2d Corps eliminated a large chetnik support point, captured immense amounts of materiel and equipment, and eliminated the support point from which long-range artillery was pounding Tuzla, Lukavac, and other neighboring towns nonstop. There are also prisoners from fronts near Vuzuca, Olovo, Tecak, Lisac na Majevici.... Their birth certificates indicate that they come from almost all the regions of temporarily occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina, and there are even some from Serbia, but born abroad, outside the borders of the former Yugoslavia.

The Appeal From Tuzla

It is not clear at all why the aggressor side is refusing to exchange its fighting men, even referring to them as deserters. It seems that Radovan and his commander Mladic would have preferred their fighting men to be killed than to fall into the clutches of the B-H Army.

There was even an offer from Tuzla for relatives of the prisoners to come to the prison across the demarcation line and visit their sons, husbands, and relatives, but that offer was not accepted either.

"You know, man, I heard that Radovan Karadzic called us traitors. No one is mistreating us here in prison. But every day we talk about nothing but exchange. I almost went mad, since these walls can also kill you," said Zeljko Prodanovic, a prisoner from Belgrade who is only 18. He fell into the hands of fighting men of the 2d Corps at Lisaca. In Belgrade he had been sentenced to three years in prison for a crime. When he was offered a chance to be released from his sentence if he joined the volunteers in Karadzic's army, he agreed.

Prodanovic said that he felt deceived. It took three years of maturing in the difficult conflicts of war for him to realize what kind of trouble he had fallen into.

And Miodrag Bojic, age 28, who comes from Tutnjevac, near Ugljevik, said that he did not understand why the Serbian authorities are refusing to exchange their fighting men. He said: "They drove us into this foolish

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war. Now we are caught neither here nor there, but in between. The price of the war is being paid by the little people, not by the officials who hold the reins of war in their hands!..."

The few prisoners who opened their hearts and souls at least to some extent said that the propaganda is horrible in Karadzic's quasi-state. The fighting men are constantly told that they will be horribly tortured if they are captured by the B-H Army.

"That is why I was greatly surprised when I was treated in the hospital by Serbian medical personnel. Over there, with them, anyone who is not a Serb can only join a work detail and do forced labor," Zeljko Prodanovic said.

Some of the prisoners reason this way:

"When I am free, I would most like to go abroad. Let everyone be responsible for his own deeds. We were forced to take up arms. At the very beginning of the war everyone able to fight up to the age of 55 was mobilized. We had a choice between the gun or the camp. They drummed it into our heads that we must defend ourselves, and now we see we belong to an army whose leaders are war criminals!"

Many know about the ethnic expulsions. They deny having taken part in them and also in the destruction and desecration of religious places, looting, rapes....

"I do not know why anyone would destroy mosques, churches, graveyards, and drive out the non-Serb population," Bojic, who comes from Majevica, said. In Bijeljina, he said, he saw mosques demolished and graveyards desecrated.

Some of the prisoners believe that a distinction should be made between ordinary soldiers and the chetniks. "The chetniks differ from the soldiers, beginning with what they wear and ending with the way they behave. The chetniks are escorted by the priests, most of whom have come from Serbia. The priests cooked up a lot of this," the prisoner Bojic said.

Chetniks and Priests

The military court in Tuzla has instituted appropriate proceedings against a number of prisoners, but the great majority are said to be prisoners who could be exchanged. Whenever their leaders decide in favor of it.

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Knin Sets Conditions for Talks With Zagreb

LD2006154295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 20 Jun (TANJUG)—The UN secretary general's special envoy, Yasushi Akashi, said today that the situation in Sector South, especially on Mt. Dinara, was currently very critical.

Briefly addressing journalists after three hours of talks with Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], he said that the time had come "to turn the page from the military and critical moment to peace."

Due to the situation in Sector South and the overall relations between Knin and Zagreb, Akashi spoke in favor of "urgent measures and actions leading to negotiations."

He expressed his satisfaction with the fact that Martic had reached an agreement on the meeting between the commanders of the RSK and Croatian armies, Generals Mile Mrksic and Zvonimir Cervenko, on 30 June under the condition that, as he said, the situation on Dinara is solved.

Martic sees a solution to the situation on Mt. Dinara in the unconditional withdrawal of the Croatian forces, which is the condition for the meeting between General Mrksic and General Cervenko.

Akashi did not hide his cautious optimism about the final outcome of his mission in Knin today, because, following the military talks, a new dialogue is expected to open between Knin and Zagreb on economic relations, including the reopening of the pipeline.

However, all these good intentions and goodwill of the international community to mediate once again between Knin and Zagreb could fall through because, according to Martic, Krajina's basic condition for possible talks is the proclamation of Western Slavonia as a protected zone with no Croatian soldiers or police.

Martic again asked Akashi to ensure the free transfer of goods from the eastern to western part of the RSK, the energetic action by the Security Council to protect the UN peace mission, and the prevention of the Croatian aggression against the RSK.

Croatian, Serbian Missile Systems Compared

AU2106103095 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jun 95 p 7

[Commentary by Fran Visnar: "The Battle for Control of the Sky"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During the last days of May, and especially on 1 June 1995 the interpreters of satellite photographs taken by the CIA noticed intensified movement in the Serbian antiaircraft defense and the creation of multilayered missile rings in the area between Bihac and Banja Luka. The first photographs did not show anything new. The surface-to-air SA-3 Goa missiles (from the Eva system) were conveyed on transporters without a trailer and then installed on the usual, immobile (rail) four-missile launchers. The Serbs always place these missiles close to the older SA-2 Guideline (Volkhov) system, using the acquisition radar Flat Face P-15 with paraboloid reflectors and a range of up to 250 km as well as the Low Blow radar for observation and guidance with an 85-km range and mechanical scanning by means of antennas installed at an angle of 45 degrees.

The U.S. intelligence analysts noticed on very clear photographs taken later that the number of launchers had been increased as well as the number of self-propelled caterpillar antiaircraft Kub [cube] systems (SA-6 Gainful) in the improved Kub-M version (SA-6 S), characterized by changeable frequencies and enhanced precision. It was also noticed that several launchers of the (old-fashioned) antiaircraft SA-2 Guideline belonged to the new modified Volkhov-3M (SA-2 M) version. The first change was noticed in delta-shaped Volkhov wings: The earlier square-shaped helms were replaced by shorter delta-shaped helms in the front part. The missile warhead, which weighs 130 kg, lies behind the heavy grooved armature; various fuses are used (contact, remote, or proximity fuses). Improvements were also noticed on the Fan Song radar regarding the guidance system and its enhanced resistance to electronic counterattacks. Seven modifications were altogether noticed with Volkhov: Some missiles do not have the front helms any longer, for example, or the stabilizer, or the starter.

Propaganda War With Missiles

This is not all, however. That NATO combat missions in the air space above the territory controlled by the Serbs are in real danger was confirmed by disclosing something the Serbian side wanted to keep secret as long as possible. The U.S. spy cameras shot pictures of the main Serbian secret air defense trump card installed on concrete structure positions protected with camouflage nets around Banja Luka: The long-range antiaircraft and

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antimissile S-300 system (SA-10 Grumble) that was obviously delivered to Karadzic from Serbia in the two versions S-300 V and S-300 PMU-1 (the Croatian Air Defense has the same system). Since the probability of target destruction and the shooting down of flying objects is with these systems greater than 96 percent, both NATO and the Croatian side must bear this in mind. In order to reduce the propaganda effects of the military show at the Jarun Lake in Zagreb, and knowing that they were filmed by Americans, the Serbs deliberately showed on Banja Luka Television—before and after shooting down the U.S. F-16 aircraft—that they had the S-300 system, by which they can protect not only land troops but the whole of their territory.

This system is of strategic importance and has, according to U.S. intelligence sources, been operative on the Serbian side since the late autumn of 1994, although it has not been discovered in which way the missiles, three-dimensional radars, and other devices were transported from Serbia to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Since it is a modern system, it is quite certain that the S-300 situated around Banja Luka is operated by Serbian officers with special training in missiles, who are professionals in Milosevic's army and who are, apart from that, directly and indirectly, certainly supported by Russian instructors.

Modern Light Self-Propelled Systems

The United States is worried about one more thing. The Serbs want to additionally strengthen the already powerful air defense with one of the most recent light self-propelled surface-to-air systems. It is the Russian SA-15 Tor system, intended for the protection of tactical and operational army units and the replacement of the Kub (SA-6) system. The Tor is also equipped with the three-dimensional radar (and its own television system) that detects targets at a distance of 25 km. It can destroy various types of attacking weapons in the air (such as fighters, bombers, pilotless aircraft, air-to-surface guided missiles, and aircraft bombs). The guidance system of the SA-15 missiles is radio-controlled and the probability of destruction of both the approaching targets as well as those moving away is as high as 98 percent. The horizontal range of the system lies between 1 and 12 km, whereas the vertical covers everything that flies or falls at altitudes between 10 m and 6 km. The reaction time of an installed Tor is five to eight seconds, and it takes somewhat more than four minutes to change into combat position. Eight SA-15 missiles are installed on every caterpillar transporter (movable platform) and can develop a speed of Mach 2.5.

A Giant and a Gladiator

Apart from the aforementioned missile systems, in Serbia there are—according to the same reliable U.S. sources—modern surface-to-air missiles (which have not yet been presented in public), which also the former Yugoslavia showed interest in. The first one is SAM-11 Gadfly (a four-missile launcher mounted on a caterpillar transporter that has a 90-percent probability of destructing aerodynamic targets with two missiles; the horizontal range is between 3 and 28 km, and the missiles are active at altitudes between 30 m up to 14 km). Even more interesting are the SA-12 A and B type "Div" [giant] and "Gladiator" (the Russian name is Buk), which are similar to S-300 systems. They can shoot down flying objects and ground-to-ground missiles at a distance of 80 to 100 km and at altitudes up to 30 m (a minimum horizontal range is 5 km and vertical 900 m, with a precision of 96 percent). The U.S. intelligence photographs can easily identify the Buk missile system. With SA-12, in contrast to S-300, four launchers that fire missiles vertically are not mounted on a heavy wheeled vehicle, but on a self-propelled caterpillar that has its own antenna system mounted on the tower.

The Russian Test Range for Missiles

All this shows in what way Russia returned to the territory of the former Yugoslavia, causing—among other things—an irrepressible and all-inclusive technological (missile) match between the main rivals—Croatia and Serbia (which will enable Moscow to profit, too). This is not the only important thing, however. The United States and NATO must finally seriously discuss and consider how to oppose, by mutual efforts, the fact that the Serbs in Serbia and those on the other side of the Drina River have for months already been covering all types of their combat aircraft and special flying objects. Washington takes the Serbian missile arsenal as seriously as it took Saddam Husayn's threats several years ago.

HVO Engineer Unit: Duties, Tasks Highlighted

95BA0267A Mostar HRVATSKI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 26 May 95 p 11

[Article by Tihomir Begic: "Visit to a Company of Engineers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The very word "pioneer" [same word used for "engineer"—translator's note] means someone who clears new roads in an area. The first landholders in the new territories of North America were called pioneers. In the military sense a pioneer is a soldier in an engineers unit whose duty is to

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dig trenches, repair and build roads, build bridges and fortifications, place demolition charges, and so on. At the beginning of the Homeland War the organization of these units was uneven—from a team of engineers within brigades to organized engineer companies. In the very early going their main task was to erect obstacles and build fortifications.

In order to introduce the engineer company of the Engineers-Pontoon Regiment of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] GS [General Staff], we went where they were the only living souls. We came upon a team of engineers hard at work removing demolition charges from a notable cultural monument in Mostar. Pehar Manduric, Zvonko Stipic, Oliver Besker, Ivan Ljubas, Ivica Mitar, and Mirko Zadro said that we were the first journalists who had visited them and taken pictures during the entire war. Marinko Doko, company commander, soon arrived with Bozo Pehar, chief of the Mostar Tactical Group of Engineers. We started to talk at once:

"The job we are doing is very hazardous," Commander Doko said, "and our lives are in danger at every moment. It is particularly important that in clearing the terrain we do not have the charts of the mine fields, and we never know when we might come upon a land mine, booby trap, or some other explosive device."

Courage and Caution

Surmounting obstacles, some containing mines and other explosive devices, has required the highest degree of courage and alertness because of the lack of necessary protective equipment. The unit operates exclusively under the command of the GS, and the degree of the danger, difficulty, and responsibility of the job done by members of the engineer company is best indicated by the well-known saying that those who work with mines make only one mistake. In piles of debris from demolished structures, fallen trees, sheet metal, and who knows what all, one needs to be nimble and lucky not to hit some remaining mine. The datum that a probe has to be jabbed into the ground about 220 times to clean one square meter is the best indication of the work done by the engineers. This hardworking team, they say, has invented a tool that they call the "metal claw" to make their work more effective (they jokingly say they have not patented it yet).

"Trouble and necessity forced us to invent these tongs. This is the easiest way for us to approach land mines; we can grab onto an antitank mine and pull it out, and there are a number of other moves with which we greatly impressed the Spaniards in UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]."

As for members of the Spanish battalion of UNPROFOR, they offered the engineers a great deal of help, and their cooperation has been on a high level. Because our engineers lacked equipment, the Spaniards provided protective equipment for them to do their job—bullet-proof vests, helmets, and protective boots.

Equipping the Company Still Better

The engineer company has so far performed tasks in Mostar, Kupres, Livno, and wherever they were ordered to go. They made their full contribution in Operations "Miser" and "Winter," and Ivica Cutura and Oliver Besker, members of the Engineer Company of the Engineer-Pontoon Regiment of the HVO GS, were wounded in carrying out the tasks of clearing mines from an area in Kupres.

Aside from the tasks of erecting obstacles, clearing mines, demolition, building fortifications, and overcoming explosive and other man-made obstacles, the engineers have been repairing a large number of roads under the most difficult weather conditions and also during combat, sometimes without the necessary protection, in order to make movement and maneuvers safe for our infantry and armored units. They have also made their full contribution in building airports and heliports in our liberated area.

As Commander Doko said, the company needs still more equipment and training to perform its tasks more effectively and with maximum protection of its personnel. Especially since the members of this company, and that applies to the entire corps of engineers, always had work to do even before the war, they have it to do during the war, and they will have even more to do when the war is over. Incidentally, the engineers say that they would be a perfect microcosm of Hercegovina-Bosnia if the team just had someone from Bosanska Posavina. Cooperation is good with other units of the HVO, but especially with the 1st Ante Bruno Busic Guards Brigade and the 2d Guards Brigade of the HVO.

So, far, they say with pride, they have carried out more than 200 missions, and they are ready to do so in the future for the good and survival of the Croatian people.

Manjaca Camp Guard on Trial for Atrocities

95BA0267B Split EKSKLUZIV in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jun 95 p 3

[Unattributed article: "The Butcher Came for His Pension"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The District State's Attorney's Office in Split has filed an indictment against Mirko Graorac (age 53), born in Bajinci, Srbac Opstina, for

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a crime against humanity under international law—a wartime atrocity against prisoners of war for the most serious crimes against life and limb, and for crimes against the Republic of Croatia.

In the period from April-March 1992 to the first half of April-March 1994, Graorac, the indictment states, left Split, where he lived as a retired policeman with his family, and voluntarily joined the paramilitary units of the self-styled "Srpska republic," where he held the post of commander of the external guards of the so-called civilian Serbian police at the Manjaca camp.

During armed conflicts with units of the HV [Croatian Army] and the Army of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbian paramilitary units held in the camp more than 4,000 military and civilian, Croatian and Muslim prisoners of war. Beginning in May 1992 and in collusion with the commander of the camp's internal guards, Graorac, whose nickname was Spaga, came to the camp every day with his guards, whom he permitted and ordered to inflict physical and mental abuse on the prisoners.

Together with the other guards, Graorac also kicked and struck the prisoners several times over the entire body with rubber truncheons, rifle butts, laths, and electric wires, also threatening to kill them. The fact that in addition to torturing the prisoners, Graorac forced most of them to drink dirty water containing tadpoles and demanded that the unfortunate prisoners give up articles of gold, watches, and other articles of value provides sufficient indication that this kind of treatment was not enough for Graorac.

The indictment states that torture in the Manjaca camp was not enough for Graorac, and he would take the prisoners outside the enclosure, where he continued the physical abuse, and on his orders the Manjaca guards butchered seven prisoners, among them Djedo Crnaric. Those who had a taste of Graorac's torture included Zarko Tale, Stipe Zrno, and Vlado Ugrina, officers in the HV, and there are quite a few others on Graorac's lengthy list.

Following his two-year stay in the Srpska republic, Graorac returned to Split to collect his back pension payments, which he quickly accomplished, and since May of last year he has lived the life of an ordinary citizen, enjoying all the rights accorded him by that status, not believing that any of the Manjaca prisoners would recognize him.

However, the plot began to unravel when the surviving prisoners of that Serbian camp recognized their torturer Mirko Graorac in photographs of the St. Anthony's Bread organization in Zagreb. Less than a year after he returned from the Srpska republic Graorac was taken into custody in Split on the basis of warranted suspicion.

After Graorac's victims in Bilici recognized their torturer and butcher in Manjaca, he was arrested and placed in pretrial custody. During the investigation he has resolutely rejected accusations of all the crimes with which he has been charged, and he has given as the reason for his visit to the Srpska republic urgent farm work on his parents' land.

Instead of the life of an ordinary citizen of Croatia, at the invitation of like-minded criminals, Mirko Graorac chose the vocation of executioner, but because there are no perfect crimes, he has ended up before the face of justice. The punishment that will be pronounced against the criminal in Manjaca will be decided soon by the zupanija court in Split, where the trial of one of the numerous chetnik war criminals will soon begin.

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UNPREDEP Mission Chief Arrives in Skopje

AU2006082195 Skopje MIC in English 19 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mr. Henryk Sokalski, the newly appointed Chief of Mission of UNPREDEP [UN Preventive Deployment Force] arrived in Skopje yesterday for a three-day introductory visit. This will be his first visit to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] since his appointment as Chief of Mission by the UN Secretary-General.

Following his arrival at Skopje airport, Mr. Sokalski gave a brief press statement: "I'm very happy to be here. I'm honored as we have a very important mission here and we will do everything in our power to complete it successfully. With your help, I believe we will achieve success," Sokalski said, adding that he remembered Macedonia, i.e. the Skopje earthquake.

During his three-day stay, Mr. Sokalski will introduce himself to President Kiro Gligorov, the Speaker of Parliament Stojan Andov, Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski, as well as other members of the Government. He will also meet the UNPREDEP Commander, Brig. Gen. Juha Engstrom and other senior political and military staff, and pay visits to the Nordic and U.S. Battalions serving with UNPREDEP.

Otherwise, pursuant to the March resolution of the Security Council, the UN Mission in Macedonia received a civilian Chief of Mission at the Assistant Secretary-General level. [sentence as received]

Bankers Allegedly Confiscate Hard Currency

95BA0256A Skopje VECER in Macedonian 11 May 95 p 3

[Article by Kosta Popovski: "Bankers Thieves!?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *According to sources close to the Economic Bank (owner of the Exchange Office at the Bogorodica Border Crossing), 1,224,950 German marks [DM], 2 checks, and several tens of thousands of denars have been stolen.*

It is most likely that the currency was stolen by personnel of the Exchange Office or else the latter commissioned the theft!

The state has been the victim of the theft of the century: DM1,800,000 were stolen from the safe of the Economic Bank Exchange Office at the Bogorodica Border Crossing, on the Macedonian-Greek border. The theft took place (unofficially) between Friday night and Saturday morning. As we already reported, this large amount of foreign currency was removed in a miraculous way: in front of the eyes of the personnel permanently on duty at the Exchange Office who watch over this treasure.

Scenarios

After the theft was exposed, first locally and then throughout the country, several explanations arose as to how this theft was committed, who participated in it, and where the money went.

The most interesting scenario was that the stolen money was removed by masked perpetrators who subdued the guards watching the safe on the night between Friday and Saturday, smoothly taking to the last pfennig, money totalling DM1,800,000, and disappearing in a southerly direction!

Another scenario was that the perpetrators were a suitably experienced group of thieves from Skopje, who knew what would be kept in the safe on that particular night, so that, based on this information, they had a sure thing: they filled their bags with the bank notes and crossed the border. Since it is rare for such a large amount of foreign currency in our possession to fall into the hands of the underground, rumors were flying as to who the perpetrators were and who were the owners of the funds, and so was the premise that these were "laundered" funds by two or three people in the Exchange Office at the Bogorodica Border Crossing, and that the faster and more experienced thieves collected the money without considering that this action would turn into a very big event.

What Is What?

According to sources queried by VECER, the closest version to the truth about the biggest theft of the century (so far no such amount has ever been stolen by thieves in our country), is that DM1,224,950 and several tens of thousands of denars were stolen from the safe of the Economic Bank Exchange Office at the Bogorodica Border Crossing! The way the money was stolen was very simple: the still unnamed people (VECER sources said that four officials of the Exchange Office were detained), used two keys made in advance, copied from the originals (the safe could be opened by only two keys, each one in the possession of an official), and quite easily opened the steel door of the safe! The lock of the safe was damaged, which is an indication of the speed with which the theft was committed (it is believed that the perpetrators feared the change of guards at the Exchange Office).

About noon, on Friday the 5th of the month, the safe contained DM60,000 and several tens of thousands of denars. At that time, the local free shop deposited another DM600,000. Therefore, the safe contained a total

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of DM1,205,000. Furthermore, the local officials expected a special vehicle from Skopje (from the Economic Bank) to collect the money from the Exchange Office and to deposit it, as required by bank regulations, into the safe of the Macedonian National Bank in Skopje. The vehicle, along with the car that accompanied it, did not come.

Where Is the Key to the Enigma?

What delayed the special vehicle in picking up the money from the Exchange Office and in taking it to the Skopje National Bank? Who knew that on that very day, on Friday, DM600,000 would be transferred from the free shop near the Bogorodica Border Crossing? Here is another puzzle: who knew that on that day the safe contained another DM624,950?

Economic Bank officials told us that this indicates extreme carelessness on the part of the personnel of the Exchange Office near Gevgelija! We found out that an investigation has been launched by the bank's internal control to determine who had asked on that Friday that the foreign currency not be removed from the safe of the Exchange Office and not be transfered to the National Bank. The same officials doubt that the personnel of the Economic Bank are involved in the theft. The purpose of the investigation is to determine whether the directives were issued by the perpetrators who ordered the theft. For the time being, according to Economic bank officials, the location of the stolen funds remains unknown! The investigation conducted so far by members of internal control reveals a number of personnel weaknesses related to the theft, that the theft is the work of a member of the Exchange Office, and that the purpose of this report is to determine how the theft was committed, by whom, and the location of the money.

All those who are somehow involved in exposing the theft of DM1,224,000 (the police, the investigative judicial authorities, and the internal control of the Economic Bank) are totally silent! This indicates that so far they have been unable to identify the perpetrators!

Provisions of Draft Criminal Code Discussed

95BA0257A Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 5 May 95 p 4

[Article by L. Kitanovska: "Greater Respect for Human Rights and Freedoms"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Although the concept has remained virtually unchanged, significant changes have been made in terms of improving the situation of the accused, while the public prosecutor and the internal affairs authorities have lost some of their rights.*

The Law on Criminal Acts, dating from the former Yugoslavia, is still valid in the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. Meanwhile, a new constitution was adopted even before our state became independent, and the need for a new legal system became logical. Within this framework, and for quite some time, a new law had become necessary. According to it criminal acts would be governed by new criteria. The initial efforts to do something in that area was to amend and supplement the existing law of April 1992 which, for reasons that remain unclear, had never been applied. The stipulations of the edict on which it was based stated that this was due to "administrative-technical omissions." By the end of the following year in 1993, a commission was set up to draft the ZKP [Law on Criminal Acts]. At the beginning of January 1994, the first working version was considered by a broader circle of competent people. In May of last year, once again the commission synthesized views and remarks. This resulted in the draft ZKP law, discussed by one of the members of this commission, Professor Ivanco Stojanov, dean of the Security Department in Skopje.

The draft law includes a number of new features consistent with the social changes which have taken place. The basic concept, however, remains unchanged. According to Stojanov, from lack of courage and perhaps of knowledge, or else of objective conditions, what remains is a mixture of criminal acts or, in other words, a continental type of procedure, instead of converting to the so-called accusatory or Anglo-Saxon system. This can be seen most clearly in the virtually unchanged role played by the court in terms of trial conditions. Among the other participants in the act, as a state authority, the public prosecutor has lost more than she has gained. The damaged party has had his situation somewhat improved, while the accused of a criminal act has been given substantially expanded rights and freedoms regardless of some limitations. The role of the defender has been broadened in the spirit of the maximal defense of the accused.

Without Peace Councils

A more specific consideration of the new features of this text that will be submitted to the Assembly is to be initiated and, according to Stojanov, are as follows: A court sentence can no longer be passed if proof has been obtained by violating the constitutionally protected human rights and basic freedoms. Such proof becomes invalid and, in fact, limits the right to its free evaluation, which is a theory governing our criminal law. The judge alone has the right to determine, in the first instance, the nature of criminal acts punishable by fine or imprisonment not to exceed three years, instead of

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one year as has been the case so far. This automatically makes the trials easier but, at the same time, increases the responsibility of the judges. Peace councils no longer participate in the criminal or precriminal trial. So far, their role was to pacify the "quarreling parties." A new possibility has been provided for the judicial council to close the investigation. Until now, this possibility was granted exclusively to the investigative judge. The impression is that a vacuum has been filled, so that if the lower-level judge cannot do something, that becomes possible to the higher authority. The range of individuals who are no longer obliged to testify has been broadened. So far, this applies mainly to close relatives and priests. Now this will include the lawyer, the physician, the social worker, and the psychologist who, in the course of doing their work, have become exposed to some information, which they must keep secret. The foundations for trial in absentia will be expanded. The accused may be tried, not only if he has escaped or if in any other way he is out of reach to the state authorities, but even when his presence does not require his interrogation in the presence of his defender.

Now the public prosecutor will have better grounds for rejecting a criminal summons. In addition to the current stipulations, he will be able to do so also "in the absence of a substantiated doubt that the summoned individual has committed a criminal act." This is a major new right which can be applied by the prosecutor in the face of an obvious facts that the summoned individual has not been charged with a specific crime. In the case of the prosecutor, a new stipulation should be introduced, that of extending the period of criminal prosecution. Accordingly to Stojanov, its probable objective is to encourage the perpetrator to repent for his action, to repair the damages he has caused, and to eliminate eventual consequences. He will be rewarded by the fact that no criminal prosecution will be instituted against him. This will meet the purpose of the punishment, eliminating the need for a sentence. It will require the meeting of certain legal stipulations, and may not be delayed for more than six months.

After a hiatus of nearly 19 years, once again it becomes a question of introducing in Macedonian penal legislation, the request made by the damaged party to become a prerequisite for prosecution. Therefore, the public prosecutor may act in the case of incriminations which must be prosecuted in the interests of the state, but only if this is requested by the damaged side. This is in the spirit of contemporary trends in which the wishes of the citizen may be honored, even more since, in some cases, prosecution that is not requested by the damaged party may worsen the damages. A great deal of discussion and a variety of opinions may be found regarding this stipulation.

One Defender per Accused

An interesting new aspect is that the draft law suggests that a defender may defend only one accused, even if several defendants face the same criminal charges. This will eliminate the fear that some acts committed by one of the accused may benefit him but damage another defendant, thus giving greater freedom to the defender in developing his defense. Censorship of correspondence and discussions between the defender and the detainee, will be eliminated. The participation of the internal affairs authorities in the investigation has been substantially restricted. In the same sense the rights that the authorized official of the internal affairs agency had in terms of deprivation of freedom, based on regulations requiring detention, have been abolished. According to Stojanov, the probable reason for this is the fear that such a right may be abused and the suspected individual may be detained for longer than the allotted 24 hours. Naturally, in accordance with the constitution, the internal affairs authorities can no longer order such detention.

For the first time in our criminal procedure law, the mandatory jailing would be eliminated for an individual who is suspected of having committed a very severe crime. Following the abolition of the death penalty, it has probably been realized that no such severe incriminations exist and, on the other hand, the foundations for the optional detention are quite broad, so that the draft law justifies this request. This is only part of the many new aspects which will be included in the new ZKP, which will certainly lead to further improvements.

Trade Union Pluralism, Workers' Rights

95BA0257B Skopje VECER in Macedonian 6-7 May 95 pp 6-7

[Article by Tjurtjina Vasilevska: "A Play With a Single Player!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *From the legal viewpoint, as well, in our country, trade union pluralism is open and free.*

On this terrain, the Union of Macedonian Trade Unions is playing its own "game," whereas the Union of Independent Autonomous Trade Unions is merely trying to become involved in the "game."

To what extent does this "game" express the real interest of the membership?

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What lesson could be drawn from the latest events related to the "meetings of the hungry"?

Even since the "meetings of the hungry" took place, particularly the one in Skopje, among others, the following statement was broadcast: "This is harming trade union pluralism, for it is not good for the Union of Macedonian Trade Unions to remain alone on the stage." Some people, therefore, believe that the terrible D-Day will be reflected on the Union of Independent Autonomous Trade Unions of Macedonia—the organizer of those meetings! How to interpret the oath, "He who digs a grave for someone else...," or else "For whom the bell tolls...." Was the government not doomed to fall?

On the other hand, during the meetings, Djuner Ismail, the minister who spoke for the government of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], if we understand this accurately, mentioned at a news conference the existence of some kind of new law on the organization of trade unions. It was because of such "provocations," that once again we decided to investigate what is happening in the area of organizing trade unions in Macedonia.

Proper Regulations

Let us first begin with the regulations drafted or applied to this effect. Stojan Trajanov, deputy minister of labor and social policy, explains that the matter related to the principles, conditions, and ways of organizing the workers in trade unions is regulated by several laws (laws pertaining to worker relations and strikes and collective contracts) on the basis of international documents pertaining to labor. Actually, in 1993 our country officially became a member of the International Labor Organization (ILO) by virtue of which it formally undertook to respect and apply the conventions and recommendations of that association, which were included in our labor legislation. Therefore, Trajanov added, the freedom of the workers to become members or to join trade unions is guaranteed, so that both workers and employers have the right, without any preliminary approval, to found organizations of their own choice and join them according to their statutes. The workers' organization, the purpose of which is to advance and protect the interests of its members, has total freedom in choosing trade union representatives, means of management and activities, and its obligation is to draft regulations and rules for the membership.

According to Trajanov, with the function of protecting the freedom of trade union organization and of work, there is a stipulation that clearly states that a trade union can not be disbanded or have its activities prohibited administratively if it has been founded and operates in accordance with the law. Particularly significant is the fact that the ZRO [Law on Worker Organizations] established the possibility and foundations for pluralism in trade union activities, according to which the mandate of a legitimate partner in talks with the other two partners in the social dialogue (the association of employers and the state) is acquired by the majority trade union. In our country, unquestionably, this applies to the SSM [Trade Union Federation of Macedonia]. In addition to it, according to Trajanov, the specific record of that ministry most frequently includes the UNASM [Union of Independent Association of Macedonian Trade Unions] (The Union).

Empty Space

It is of interest to note that during that period (the duration of the mandate) the rights which will be adopted by the SSM automatically become applicable to all workers in the state. For the time being, this is probably better, bearing in mind that in the expanding private sector, we have no more than a few shy manifestations of trade union organizations. But what if some other unions appear in that area, or else if the primacy in some enterprises so far "ruled" by the SSM are taken over by other trade unions or else by the Union that has succeeded in suitably placing itself in some worker collectives? For the time being, we are not aware of such a case, but will such collectives be ruled by the SSM, considering that it is the majority trade union in the state? In some cases, this area has been left open and unclear. There also is the fear and the mistrust of any new feature that may appear (or degenerate ...).

Therefore, from the viewpoint of the SSM, according to the deputy chairman of that largest worker association in our country, Rifat Jursit, the right to trade union organization has been essentially regulated with the ZRO, as a result of which there is no need for any special law. What matters here is to determine accurately who can participate in collective contracting. Determining which is the biggest trade union is based on the universally adopted practice of trade union representation, examples of which, according to Jursit are found in the United States and France. This principle is valid in participating in the mechanism of tripartite and other institutional aspects of exerting influence within the state.

Area of Competition

As to both political and trade union pluralism, the SSM accepts them in their entirety and, according to Jursit, this is an area open and accessible to all. In his view, the SSM competed in gaining its social position and, together with its 15 trade unions set up industrial unions with some 360,000 members (based on 1991

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data and voluntary membership, that year more than 365,000 membership cards were issued, accounting for 75 percent of employees), a number which may have somewhat declined presently. It is precisely because of a decline in the sum total of employees in the country (less than 400,000) and those "other features" that, personally, Jursit believes that any breakup of the trade union movement in our country could only damage and weaken it. Actually, he says, the criterion for the exercise of worker rights in a country is not based on the number of trade unions. On the contrary, practical experience has indicated that this weakens the power of the trade union and that in some European countries the highest number of workers belong to trade unions without competition. According to Jursit, therefore, the claim that several trade unions must exist in a country for the sake of a truer expression of the interest of the workers has no validity.

The union would probably place this within the framework of the old concept of the state favoring the SSM. The view expressed by Jursit is that the point of the trade union movement is precisely a more authentic expression of the interests of the workers and that a division weakens the power of the trade union is acceptable. The dilemma, however, remains as follows: whether and to what extent does this benefit the SSM? It is certain that this does not benefit the Union but, according to Jursit, the area of competition remains open. In this competition the "game" played by the SSM is superior, and its internal relations, if one could describe them as such, are "embellished" by high-level intolerance! Also, accurate, probably, is the fact that the time of manipulating the trade unions by the parties is already a thing of the past. In the global trade union movement, the trends of getting rid of the parties and stressing autonomy and independence in its activities are becoming clearer. The SSM has this kind of long experience and it is logical that such a position would force it to do some thinking today, even if it supported the president of the republic in the elections.

Is such an objective view possible for the new trade unions if, judging from the history of their origins, they have always been involved with individual parties?

What is the position of the workers organized in the SSM and the UNASM? If not the entire answer, at least part of it is implicitly included in the comment concerning recent events in connection with the "meetings of the hungry" that, according to Dr. Jovan Korubin, a sociologist and a professor at the Philosophy Department in Skopje, made a few things clear. The first is that the SSM, as the majority trade union, suffers from many recurrences of the past. It is concerned more with the issue of power rather than with the real problems of the membership and with a cabinet-style approach, which leads to unrealistic demand for some solutions (For example, collective contracts that, under the new conditions, Dr. Korubin simply considers an abstraction, unlike Jursit who considers them the key activities of the SSM; although, he too states that the extent to which, under such circumstances, they can be implemented is a different matter). This makes the SSM simply a link in the chain of dissatisfactions.

Second, these events indicate that the appearance of other so-called independent trade unions does not mean, at least not as yet, that such organizations have appeared with clearly defined objectives. According to Dr. Korubin, it is easy to politically manipulate spontaneously appearing movements. It is precisely by supporting such an effort of exposing some real conditions in the country that some political parties have harmed them. In an effort to enhance their rating, they simply sacrificed socially dissatisfied citizens. According to Dr. Korubin, the parties should not involve themselves in trade union work, for precisely the involvement of a political factor may have resulted in ignoring an number of justified demands. In that sense, the reaction of the authorities did not concentrate on what is a social demand rather than a political one or, even better, a political opposition demand. The socially threatened were ignored and, once again, were left empty-handed. Dr. Korubin is certain that the nature of those meetings was prejudiced by the authorities by the very fact of labelling them as purely political.

In any case, he believes, nonetheless, the voice of the participants in these meetings should have been listened to with greater attention. In that sense, the SSM perhaps should have been the type of factor that such manipulation would single out the strictly trade union demands and adopt them as its own. Such a position of the SSM, in his view, contributes only to breaking up social groups and opening their interests and justified demands to a variety of manipulations.

Let us conclude with the statement made by Dr. Korubin: To the extent to which the trade union, as such, does not concentrate on articulating all that is in the real interest of the membership, to that extent there will be spontaneous and uncontrolled reactions on the part of socially dissatisfied citizens, and nondifferentiated and unclear demands that will find their direct manifestation on the streets. Meanwhile, the governing institutions must observe the rules of the democratic game in which the trade union is an equal partner in the social dialogue which, for the time being, is still not the case despite statements to that effect. Or else, as he humorously said: "Let us not reach a situation in which the people will have mass gatherings and address their protests

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to a building which, presently, is empty—making it a dialogue of the deaf!"

[Box, p 7]

"Transitive Schizophrenia" by Dr. Jovan Korubin

We are witnessing a very clear process of social stratification that is very difficult to identify. It is very difficult specifically to single out the various social strata. Meanwhile, a global social scale is beginning to take shape and so is the stratum of owners of capital—a smaller stratum of bigger owners, considering our circumstances, and a smaller one, a good percentage of which will disappear in the future, judging by our social experience. The second stratum would be that of the ruling groups in the economy and in politics, a common description of which, in my view, are the workers.

What is specific to our country, and to countries in a state of transition, is that the third stratum is becoming clearly impoverished and is setting up a substratum of individuals without any ensured durable existence (unemployed, striking workers...). This stratum may include a good number of young people who have been unable to find jobs. This is a permanent status that, considering the fast stratification, would normally trigger social tensions. Such tensions, in my view, are not only the result of changes in the material well-being of individuals in our country but also of the gradual correction of the error which, at the start of the transition, developed in the consciousness of the people, to the effect that a market economy would rapidly lead to a more prosperous life. It has already become clear that such illusions break down, which is an additional element of such social tensions and agitations.

I believe that in our circumstances the transition cannot be viewed only from the aspect of the creation of some kind efficient economy, as a sort of abstraction. We must start on the basis of our real possibilities and conditions. The latter require that we look at them with our eyes wide open, in the sense that the public must be told the truth to the effect that the changes we are expecting will have another, let us not describe it as black, side. The impression remains that no political view has been developed concerning this truth and that we are somewhat avoiding it. If this view is neglected and if we simply speak declaratively of the some kind of better future, it is normal for the social conflict to shift to the link between politics and social strata.

Today it is no accident that our people are described as people in a state of transition (or what I would call Homotranzitionis). Such a person has adopted the laws of the market-oriented economy but, at the same time, he wants the social safety provided by the preceding period. This means that he is a divided personality who, in simple terms, would like to have a capitalist economy with socialist principles. I would call this situation a transitive schizophrenia. It is within this context that we could interpret the actual situation in our country, so that in terms of the social list of demands, as well, one could say that it includes many political elements instead of the carriers of such demands, in this case the trade unions, to find "their own share" within the framework of a specific economic policy and draw up a precise list of trade union demands that can be realistically met.

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Walesa Issues Statement on Jankowski's Sermon

LD2006191695 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Jun 95

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In a statement issued today in connection with Father Henryk Jankowski's sermon, President Lech Walesa said that all manifestations of anti-Semitism, both in Poland and in the world, should be met with universal contempt and condemnation. Father Jankowski said in a sermon delivered on 11 June that the star of David was written into the symbols of swastika and hammer and sickle. The president said in his statement that, as a Pole and a Christian, he regards the star of David as a great symbol of Jewish religion and community which should be surrounded by respect.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified corrrespondent] Did the president talk to any representatives of the Jewish community today?

[Presidential press spokesman Leszek Spalinski] Yes, Mr. Weiss, the Knesset speaker, telephoned the presidential office today. A long and friendly telephone conversation took place. Mr. Weiss assured the president several times that he is his friend. The president said that as long as he remains president no situations will be allowed to develop in Poland showing any manifestations of anti-Semitism. [end recording]

The prolonged lack of reaction by the Polish president to Father Jankowski's statement could result in the cancellation of a meeting, planned for 26 June, between Lech Walesa and Bill Clinton in San Francisco during the ceremonies to mark the 50th anniversary of the United Nations. [passage omitted on U.S. press comments]

Explains Late Reaction

LD2106122695 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1118 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 21 Jun—Asked by journalists on Wednesday why he reacted so late to Father Jankowski's sermon, President Lech Walesa said that it is not his role to judge sermons. In a sermon on 11 June, Father Jankowski said the Star of David "is inscribed in the symbols of the swastika and the hammer and sickle."

"I did not react to Father Jankowski's sermon. I am not in favor of what he said. I only confirmed my position and the position of the Polish state as regards these issues, but I have no right to judge priests," the president explained. The president recalled that his attitude and the attitude of the Polish state toward these issues has been presented several times and he sees no reason to repeat this every day.

Asked to comment on statements by representatives of the Washington Administration that because of Father Jankowski's sermon and the lack of immediate reaction to it there will be no meeting with Clinton, Walesa said: "If this is so, I do not understand something here. Should I or the president of Israel comment on something a rabbi says? I suppose this is not the point. Our position as regards these great issues is clear," he added.

Israeli Envoy Protests Over Priest's Sermon

LD2006183395 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Jun 95

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Israel has protested to President Lech Walesa against the fact that there has been no official reaction by the Polish authorities with regard to the statement made by Father Henryk Jankowski. The protest was delivered to the Polish side in written form by the Israeli ambassador in Warsaw.

Warsaw Ghetto Leader 'Shocked'

LD2006165195 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1614 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 20 Jun—In an open letter to the president of the Polish Republic, Marek Edelman, the last living leader of the Warsaw Ghetto rising [in 1943], has written that he is "deeply shocked and angered" at the lack of reaction by Lech Walesa to the "anti-Semitic statement by Father Jankowski," at which the president was present.

From the information that has been obtained by a PAP journalist, it transpires that Edelman's letter has not been received by either the presidential office or its press office.

"Nationalism and chauvinism are in contradiction to all the values that are held by the progressive and democratic world. They are a misfortune not only for those who are attacked, but also for the attackers. They favor the spread of hostility, hatred, and force in public life," Edelman wrote.

According to the author of the letter, the silence of the president "gives the impression of, at the very least, consent to such behavior. I call upon you to take a public stance, to specify clearly whether you are on the side of decency and humanistic values, common to all of European culture. Leaving such matters without comment always leads to great misfortunes. I feel that your obligation, as head of state, is to prevent and destroy at its inception everything that gives birth to hatred," Edelman said in the letter.

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Asked on Monday at the Cracow Polish Television center to evaluate the statement by Father Jankowski, Walesa said, among other things: "I really have known Father Jankowski for many years, I count him, and I think he does as well, as one of my friends. I know one thing: he is not an anti-Semite. This is not open to doubt—he is not an anti-Semite. On the other hand, regarding the assessment of his work, that is not something for me. I can only give everything I have, that he is not an anti-Semite..."

Asked whether he liked the statement (by Father Jankowski), the president said: "I do not know, since the sermon was very long; I do not know whether you have ever been at Father Jankowski's—where I sit, you cannot hear very well and that is why I did not completely get what was being said. I think, nonetheless, that it was not the way it is being interpreted. I was not attuned toward anti-Semitism, because I knew that he is not an anti-Semite."

In a sermon delivered on 11 June, Father Jankowski said, among other things, that the Star of David "is written into the symbols of the swastika and the hammer and sickle."

Further Reaction to Sermon

WS2106104795 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 21 Jun 95 p 2

[Report by "KRZEM, ARD, DAWAR, EB": "Reactions to Father Jankowski's Sermon; Lech Walesa on Anti-Semitism"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Before Walesa announced his statement [on Father Jankowski's sermon], he was called by Szewach Weiss, head of the Knesset (Israeli parliament). The president assured him that "as long as he remains president, he will not allow anti-Semitism in Poland." The conversation, which was in Polish, was aired by Israeli radio several times. "I wish to apologize to the Jews if they felt offended. The Jewish nation has suffered too much to be exposed to such things," said the Polish president. [passage omitted]

As we now know, the Church hierarchy has already distanced itself from Father Jankowski's statement, and the Metropolitan Archbishop of Gdansk Tadeusz Goclowski has issued an apology. The Warsaw Catholic Intellectuals Club said Father Jankowski's statement contradicts the Gospel. [passage omitted]

In answer to GAZETA WYBORCZA's question after a discussion at the LaPira Club, Aleksander Kwasniewski said Father Jankowski's statement was scandalous. "An apology has to be extended," he added.

Special Envoy to Jewish Communities To Be Named

WS2106115095 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Cezary Gmyz: "Bill Clinton Will Not Meet With Lech Walesa; Unfortunate Sermon"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The mass protests of the Jewish communities in the United States following Father Jankowski's sermon have lead to the fact that there is no chance for Lech Walesa to meet with Bill Clinton. [Foreign] Minister Bartoszewski has announced that the office of a government plenipotentiary is to be established soon for contacts with the Jewish diaspora. [passage omitted]

One of the reasons for refusing to meet may have been the issue of returning the old Jewish property in Poland. The U.S. Administration, under pressure from the Jewish lobby, is demanding that property be returned, threatening that our relations with the United States might otherwise worsen. A special U.S. envoy, Stuart Eizenstat, visited Warsaw last week to deal with the issue.

The Polish Government is suggesting only property formerly owned by the Jewish religious communities that is now under state or self-government proprietorship be returned. Some Jewish groups are demanding that private property be returned as well. Our authorities are against this, stressing that reprivatization has not yet been carried out in Poland. None of the draft reprivatization laws provides for returning property to non-Polish citizens.

A Plenipotentiary Will Be Appointed

At yesterday's session of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission, Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszeski announced that a plenipotentiary for contacts with the Jewish diaspora will begin operating in the nearest future. That function is to be held in the meantime by current Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Sliwinski. Prime Minister Oleksy has already given his approval. Sliwinski himself told ZYCIE WARSZAWY that various concepts are being considered at the moment and it still remains unknown what his tasks will be.

The author of the idea to establish the plenipotentiary's office was Minister Andrzej Zakrzewski from the Presidential Chancellery. He conceived it when controversies arose in connection with celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the liberation of the extermination camp in Auschwitz. Part of the Jewish community accused the Polish authorities, particularly President Walesa, of anti-Semitism and attempting to conceal the fact that predominantly Jews had been murdered there.

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Current Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, who enjoys huge respect in the Jewish community, was to be originally appointed as the plenipotentiary. When Bartoszewski, then ambassador to Austria, came to Warsaw to discuss the issue, the president offered him the post of foreign minister. The plenipotentiary, as the Chancellery saw it, was to be an "ambassador without an embassy." His main task was to change Poland's negative image in the Jewish diaspora.

Five Government Bodies To Be Abolished

LD2006165295 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1644 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 20 Jun—The main institutions of the reformed central administration should be up and running as of 1 January 1996: the Ministry of the Treasury and Privatization, Ministry of the Economy and Foreign Trade, and the European Integration Committee, said Marek Pol on 20 June after the meeting of the Council of Ministers. Marek Pol directs work on reform of the central administration.

The following ministries will be abolished: the Ministry of Industry and Trade, Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, Ministry of Ownership Transformations, Ministry of Town and Country Planning, and the Central Planning Office.

Ex-Ambassador on Security, Foreign Policy

95EP0131A Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 3-4 Jun 95 pp 14-15

[Interview with Kazimierz Dziewanowski, ambassador to the United States 1990-93, journalist, author of many books, including *The White Man's Burden*, *Iron Scrap, the Laughter of the Generations*, and *The Paradox of National Enslavement* (political essays), and currently a RZECZPOSPOLITA columnist, by Wojciech Adamiecki; place and date not given: "Is Poland Safe?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Adamiecki] To what extent is Poland safe at present, and does the Polish public feel secure?

[Dziewanowski] Public opinion surveys indicate that Poles react very sensitively to anything that might endanger national security. This is hardly surprising, because we are aware that on our Polish plain, open from all directions, the winds are very gusty and conflicts, and aggression in this region of the world easily burst into flame. At the moment, however, there is no immediate peril.

And there may exist various kinds of perils. We may be dealing with prolonged political pressure exerted by means of political, economic, or psychological blackmail. Another kind of peril would be, e.g., prolonged unrest to the east of our boundary, which may cause mass influx of refugees or yet another collapse of economic stability. Experience teaches that we cannot envisage all possible perils, and therefore we should aspire to bring about a situation of maximum attainable security for Poland.

[Adamiecki] Several months ago you had published in RZECZPOSPOLITA an article under the title "The Principal Issue for Europe." In your opinion, what is the principal issue for Poland?

[Dziewanowski] To me, the principal issue to Poland is its inclusion in European structures. We are facing a unique historic opportunity to once and for all break out of the encirclement which Poland has faced for more than 200 years and change the sense of our geographical position.

Let me repeat what I recently stated at a meeting of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee. It so happens that it has become my lifelong obsession to do something in order to prevent a repetition of the year 1939. Although no immediate dangers can be seen at present, foreign policy cannot be planned within a time frame of just two or three years. A period of 20, 30, or even 50 years should be considered. In the years 1926-28 Poland also had not faced any perils, yet a relatively little while elapsed before the greatest disaster in history befell us.

[Adamiecki] What is the balance sheet of the six years of Polish democracy, so far as creating the conditions for national security is concerned.

[Dziewanowski] I witnessed how, not so long ago, the West, and especially the United States, reacted to the very mention of the possibility of Poland's admission to NATO. In 1990 and 1991, as a rule, that would have caused shrugging and icy but polite answers that we should not fantasize. In the West, as in Poland, mentality is very slow to change, and new truths and reappraisals become common currency very slowly as well.

If these reactions are compared with the present-day views on this issue, it can be seen what a long road we have traveled since then. This does not quite mean that all doors have opened to us. Still, nowadays an impressive number of the most authoritative figures in the West clearly support the need to extend security structures to Central Europe.

[Adamiecki] What brought about this change?

[Dziewanowski] The response conditioned by 40 years had to change. After all, Poland used to be viewed as the USSR's principal ally, and all the Western opinion makers were aware that the Polish Army was to assault

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Danish beaches and attack northern Germany as part of the attack from the East. They knew well that a war could break out only if the Warsaw Pact were to attack. Hence, at first they viewed us mistrustfully, and some time had to pass before they realized that the world did begin to change after all.

The Americans reacted to the collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War somewhat in the same manner as they reacted to the armistice in 1918 and the fall of Berlin in 1945: the whole shebang is over and we can go home. The temptation was great; the Russian armies withdrew from Central Europe in a highly disordered and disorganized manner. It looked like the peril was gone.

Such a reaction greatly worried many members of the political establishment, especially those who had previously been in charge of U.S. foreign policy, such as Kissinger, Haig, Brzezinski, Schultz.... These men realized the threat of America's repeating a terrible mistake for the third time in this century. For, should America decide to drastically reduce its presence in Europe, NATO would probably collapse.

The persons I mentioned understood the enormous peril harbored in such a decision. In order to keep NATO alive and make it remain an instrument capable of acting and of assuring stability in Europe—that being the principal prerequisite for the preservation of peace—the Alliance must be provided with some greater mission that appeals to the imagination. Maintaining NATO as is, within its current boundaries and for the traditional purpose (of resisting the Warsaw Pact armies), is not feasible. Such a goal has ceased to appeal to the imagination. And, it is likely that the U.S. Congress would not be persuaded to continue financing such a structure.

In view of this, a huge intellectual challenge, which the West is trying to cope with, has arisen: What should be done in order to maintain this protective shield in a totally changed situation? Remaking this shield from scratch would be incredibly expensive and require great sacrifices. This is demonstrated by the situation in the years 1939-42, which almost ended in a victory for totalitarianism.

In a word, should the United States relinquish exercising its global role, that is, were NATO to shrivel, then in the event of any major confrontation, this century or the next, it would probably be impossible to halt such an aggression. It would not necessarily have to be aggression by Russia; many other perils that might arise in the world in the course of the next 10-20 years are conceivable.

[Adamiecki] Is this new mission for NATO being explored convincingly?

[Dziewanowski] I have not heard any major politician in the NATO countries declare outright that the Alliance is no longer necessary.

[Adamiecki] Prof. Richard Pipes does not seem enthused by Poland's intention to join NATO.

[Dziewanowski] Prof. Pipes is a charming and wise man, but he is not a politician. Besides, he did not say that NATO is unnecessary. He merely questioned NATO's expansion at present.

Western politicians cannot be viewed through the same prism as our press sometimes views them in stating that they shall never expand NATO because they have no direct interest in having their soldiers die for Bratislava or Gdansk. It seems to me that the entire history of the last 45 years demonstrates that, in certain situations, the West has been able, after all, to take daring, difficult, and costly decisions. As a result, it has won the Cold War.

[Adamiecki] So far in the political language employed in the West the word "Europe" has meant only its western part.

[Dziewanowski] True. But the situation has changed, because Germany also has realized where its long-range interests lie. And these consist chiefly in preserving its economic prosperity, which is possible only through lasting ties to West Europe and the United States.

Besides, it is in Germany's interest not to be located at the extreme edge of the developed world. The Germans would like to have some anteroom to the east. This sounds very ugly, and our nationalists would respond at once that Poland does not want to be anyone's anteroom. They forget that many countries have prospered for the very reason that they were the anteroom of the developed world. Of a certainty, Greece or even Turkey are better off as members of NATO than if they had not belonged to it. At present it is Germany that is the anteroom, and it is doing quite well.

The Germans would prefer to have such a zone next to them, because they remember their history. They are aware that, for a long time to come, the other Europeans will distrust them somewhat. They are aware that their country has repeatedly given proof in history that it is susceptible to considerable fluctuations of mood—from catastrophism and inferiority complex to arrogance, aggression, and xenophobia. German democrats—and here I am referring not to political parties but to people who work to consolidate German democracy—say quite openly that their aim is to anchor their country as deeply

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as possible within the concert of European countries, in the geographical sense as well, jointly with an allied Poland, an allied Czech Republic, and an allied Hungary, because this affords greater opportunity for making democratic processes in Germany irreversible.

[Adamiecki] The term "Polish foreign policy" does not define Poland's relation to all neighbors.

[Dziewanowski] A major prerequisite for achieving our great strategic goal is to maintain the best possible relations with all neighbors. There is no need to explain why we should have good relations with Czechs, Slovaks, and Germans. That is a question of eliminating the state of encirclement and putting an end to a situation in which Poland faced enemies on both sides for many years. Besides, opinion surveys indicate that the Polish public views the question of Polish-German relations very reasonably and imaginatively and that the former traumas are beginning to recede into the past.

There still remain: Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, and of course Russia. Well, the West thinks that Poles are born haters of Russia. It should be explained to the West that this is not true. It is in our interest to cultivate good relations with Russia, so that Russia will view Poland with a friendly eye. Both sides will only benefit from this.

Related to this is our attitude toward Ukraine. In this matter we have accomplished too little so far. If we have good relations with Ukraine, we will have the opportunity to establish cooperation with Russia. Should we enter into a conflict with Ukraine, as has been the case in our past history, that would be immediately used against both countries. And then there will no longer exist any opportunities for good relations with Russia. Similarly, our relations with Lithuania should also be the best possible, and although this may sometimes be painful to some people—stability, peace, and the future of our entire region are more important than sentiments.

The issue of relations with Belarus is more complicated, because nationhood in that country has not yet evolved, and the recent elections and referendum there have raised many questions. Summing up, in order to accomplish our objectives in the West, we must cultivate the best possible relations with the East.

[Adamiecki] What pessimistic scenarios may be envisaged on the international scene independently of Poland?

[Dziewanowski] For example, extreme nationalist forces may come to dominate Russia and introduce some form of a dictatorship or junta government inclined to reestablish the former empire. For the time being, it is hardly likely that they would have any major opportunity to destabilize the situation, because, as Talleyrand said, it is easy to seize power but difficult to sit on bayonets; and here the incompetence of the economic system will not be of any help. I do not believe that this is a realistic peril, but should it happen it would probably prompt certain decisions by the West.

There is also another possibility. I am referring to the protracted paralysis of American foreign policy, in the sense of unwillingness to become involved in world affairs. Such a possibility greatly worries Germany, and also Britain and many other countries. The evident tendency of Americans, which has arisen in the last few years, to avoid difficult decisions in order to avoid offending anyone has already caused various reactions which began to alter the direction of American policy. It is possible that the next President of the United States will adopt a different approach to foreign affairs than Bill Clinton's. Besides, Clinton himself should not be underestimated, as he is a deft player and may yet rebound and win back lost points. I hardly believe that the United States has really abandoned its global role.

[Adamiecki] It is not just foreign policy that decides Poland's admission to European structures. Of at least equal importance is what is happening in Poland itself. In other words, it is also up to us, in our country.

[Dziewanowski] It is quite certain that we might waste the existing opportunities in this country. It seems to me that in principle Poles are aware of this dilemma and this choice. Opinion surveys indicate the truth when they indicate that some 70 percent of Poles are in favor of the current direction of foreign policy. The remaining 30 percent also believe that we should not turn our back on the West and hurl ourselves into Russia's embraces.

True enough, once details are discussed, it turns out that, in general, Poles expect a lot from admission to European structures but know little about the subject. Opponents of this policy skillfully argue that such an admission would mean limitations on national sovereignty. It is interesting that in saying this they are oblivious of the numerous instances of an advantageous existence of countries in these structures. Do Denmark, Belgium, and the Netherlands—to mention the small countries—have such a limited national sovereignty? Have they lost their national identity? I always think that the worst thing that could happen to national identity is the loss of national independence.

I believe that a country the size of Poland, with its territory and economic status, has not, properly speaking, any chance of national independence, unless it belongs to some larger organism consisting of mutually cooperating countries. Columnists on the Right nowadays

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are writing a great deal about the peril of forfeiting national identity as a result of membership in the European Union. But what if we shall preserve our culture, history, language, economy, and the possibility of deciding on the issues most important to us? Of a certainty, we shall not be threatened by any need to carry out orders emanating from a foreign capital, such as we remember used to exist with bad results for us.

[Adamiecki] What would have to happen in Poland for the worst-case scenario to arise, meaning that then Poland would not join the European Union and NATO and our national independence would be threatened?

[Dziewanowski] If Poland lets yet another "war at the top" occur or, God forbid, should this time the military participate in such a war, that would bar the road to membership in Western structures. Something even worse would then happen as well—Poland would become a country in "no-man's-land," of no interest to anyone. And then someone might enter with his proposals and we would again lose our independence.

[Adamiecki] Are you referring to the threat posed to this country by its political instability?

[Dziewanowski] I am also referring to excessive political stability. Because, if some totalitarian government were to arise, the stability might even be prolonged, but it would not lead us anywhere. We would retrogress politically, economically, and militarily. Just as at one time Greek colonels had been excluded from the international community.

In the mentality of some people what matters most is "a strong government." To them this means a government which bans its opponents and prevents the chaos represented by a free press and a free national debate. Well, were such a "strong government" to arise, we would be certain of losing national independence. Not at once, but after awhile. That "strong government" would soon begin to rot—we have already seen this happen in the past. It would be incompetent and inefficient; it would make economic mistakes and cause general frustration—and then an outsider acting as the friendly guarantor would come.

[Adamiecki] Would not we face the same threat should a protracted stagnation set in?

[Dziewanowski] The government may be weakened by the incessant contests for numerical predominance in Sejm, for the presidency, for making unrealistic promises to the public, for inciting public opinion, for egging on some against others, and for creating the climate for a kind of civil war. This is the other extreme, which would cause paralysis of the government and prevent building anything constructive. That, too, would bar to us the road to the future.

A major way of counteracting any such possibilities is probably work to make the public aware of the choices facing it and to achieve the broadest possible national consensus on several fundamental issues.

[Adamiecki] What issues?

[Dziewanowski] Above all, foreign policy and national security. Next, economic reforms. So far as the economy is concerned, various alternative solutions may be discussed. But there are only two alternatives in foreign policy: Either an independent Poland or not.

Kuron Most Popular Candidate Among 'Elite'

WS2106122995 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Jun 95 pp 1-2

[Report by R.W.: "Who the Elite Would Support; Entrepreneurs for Kuron, Politicians for Kwasniewski"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nearly three in four representatives of the Polish elite can see someone who is worth supporting among the people who are currently mentioned as candidates for president. This is what they said in our telephone opinion poll conducted in early June. Throughout the entire group, as well as among entrepreneurs and representatives of freelancers, the most popular candidate is Jacek Kuron; politicians would most readily back Aleksander Kwasniewski. The poll was conducted for us by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS].

Views Different Slightly From Trends Throughout Society

"There is a candidate whom I am prepared to vote for among the people who are likely to run in the presidential elections," say over three-fourths (77 percent) of respondents. The least hesitant are politicians—as many as 82 percent of them have already made the preliminary choice. Women hesitate less often than men, and people with leftist views—less often than respondents who consider themselves to be supporters of the center or right wing.

Throughout the polled group the most popular candidate is Jacek Kuron, who would be supported by 27 percent of respondents. He is followed by Aleksander Kwasniewski, Tadeusz Zielinski, Adam Strzembosz, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, and Lech Walesa. The respondents also mentioned Janusz Korwin-Mikke, Leszek Moczulski, Jan Olszewski, and Jozef Zych; however, these people would not receive great support from the elite. Every 11th respondent replies "I know, but I will not tell you"

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and they refuse to reveal the name of their favorites, even though they declare that they have already chosen them.

These results differ slightly from trends which have become visible throughout Polish society as a whole. It is worth recalling that in line with the results of the most recent CBOS poll (end of May), where a representative sample of adult inhabitants of Poland was polled, the politician that enjoys the greatest support is Aleksander Kwasniewski (26 percent), followed by Lech Walesa and Tadeusz Zielinski (12 percent each), Jacek Kuron (11 percent), and Adam Strzembosz (7 percent).

Kwasniewski and Kuron Split Left Wing Between Themselves

The choices that representatives of the elite make are quite considerably determined by their political views. People who most often say that their views are leftist would like to vote for Kwasniewski (48 percent) and Kuron (35 percent). People who situate themselves in the center of the political spectrum point to Kuron (31 percent) and Zielinski (21 percent). Those who consider themselves supporters of the right wing would gladly back Strzembosz (26 percent), Walesa and Kuron (17 percent each), or Gronkiewicz-Waltz (14 percent).

The candidates who are the most popular with politicians are Kwasniewski, Kuron, and Walesa. Entrepreneurs most often mention the candidacies of Kuron, Zielinski, Kwasniewski, and Gronkiewicz-Waltz. Representatives of freelancers (artists, intellectuals) would most readily support Kuron and Strzembosz. Details can be found in the tables [below].

Walesa 50:50

Those who believe that Lech Walesa will not give up the idea of running in the presidential elections definitely outnumber people who believe that such a possibility is not at all remote: 52 percent of respondents say that Walesa will run, 45 percent say he will not, and 3 percent do not have an opinion. Representatives of the individual groups of respondents do not differ much as far as their views on this issue are concerned. Nonetheless, it is clear that people who consider themselves to be supporters of the right wing expect more often than others that the incumbent president may decide not to run for reelection.

The presidential candidacy which has appeared only recently is that of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz. So far the president of the National Bank of Poland has been emphasizing that she may run if she is the candidate of a unified right wing, which most certainly means that she would not compete for the same electorate as Walesa and Strzembosz, for instance. The respondents evaluated Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz's chances of success at approximately 25 percent. Those who believe in the central bank president the most are entrepreneurs (they evaluate her chances at 28 percent); politicians are the most skeptical (21 percent). Still, the differences are insignificant. The conviction that this candidate may win the elections is the strongest among respondents with rightist views.

* * *

CBOS conducted the poll for RZECZPOSPOLITA on 6-7 June. Selection of respondents (approximately 50 in each group): politicians—depending on the number of votes for the various groups in the 1993 parliamentary elections, plus people from the president's entourage; entrepreneurs—companies with the biggest turnover, companies listed on the Stock Exchange, biggest banks; representatives of freelancers—people performing important functions in the media, as well as in legal, scientific, cultural, and medical establishments. The author also used the results of another poll, which was conducted by CBOS between 26 and 29 May on a representative 1,198-person sample of adult inhabitants of Poland.

Presidential Favorites Among the Elite

For Whom Would You Vote?

	Percent
Elite in general	
Jacek Kuron	27
Aleksander Kwasniewski	16
Tadeusz Zielinski	12
Adam Strzembosz	11

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	Percent
Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz	9
Lech Walesa	9
Politicians	
Aleksander Kwasniewski	24
Jacek Kuron	22
Lech Walesa	17
Entrepreneurs	
Jacek Kuron	26
Tadeusz Zielinski	21
Aleksander Kwasniewski	18
H. Gronkiewicz-Waltz	16
Free Lancers	
Jacek Kuron	32
Adam Strzemboszt	24
Tadeusz Zielinski	14
Lech Walesa	11

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Barroso Acknowledges Country's Will To Join EU

BR2006143895 Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 16 Jun 95 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Romania's Rapprochement with the EU"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Portuguese foreign minister said he was convinced that the Romanian authorities have the political will to adapt their country to the requirements of the European Union [EU].

[Portuguese Foreign Minister] Durao Barroso, who made a two-day official visit to Romania, held talks with various local authorities. During the talks he was informed of that country's plans to move closer to the European and European-Atlantic institutions.

"I am returning with a great deal of understanding of Romania's prospects, a country with great potential for developing its economic relations," Durao Barroso said at a joint news conference with his Romanian counterpart.

In the Portuguese foreign minister's opinion, it is important for Romania to observe the rights and duties of the EU, namely, full democracy, respect of human rights, the existence of a market economy, and legislation compatible with the Union. Portugal is going to share with Romania its experience of more than 10 years of being linked to the European Union, and has already scheduled a meeting in late summer in Lisbon between senior officials of both countries' foreign ministries.

The Romanian authorities have already acknowledged that the economic revolution is difficult in their country, given the prevailing mentality (after decades of dictatorial regimes: first the monarchy, followed by the fascists, and then the Communists), the inadequacy of the production infrastructure, and the low level of foreign investment. On this latter point, the officials told Durao Barroso about their disappointment with the "discrimination" to which they feel subjected by the European Union, which they accuse of favoring countries like Bulgaria, Hungary, and the Czech Republic.

Turnu-Battonya Border With Hungary To Open

AU2006192995 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 14 Jun 95 p 1

[Report by Liliana Brad: "A Fourth Border Crossing Point To Be Opened in Arad County"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Thursday, 15 June, a new border crossing point will be opened at Turnu, which is to take over some of the traffic from the Nadlac and Varsand checkpoints. The customs office at Turnu will be open throughout the day. The building of the corresponding border crossing point in Hungary, at Batania [Battonya in Hungarian], was already concluded two years ago, although both the Hungarian and the Romanian parties started work simultaneously. Unfortunately, due to Romanian bureaucracy, the finishing of the Turnu crossing point was delayed for an extremely long time: The documentation for the tender to build the checkpoint alone weighs 80 kg.

Document Proves Iliescu Not Recruited by KGB

AU2006192595 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 14 Jun 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Indisputable Proof of a Gross Lie: President Iliescu Was Not Recruited as a KGB Agent During His Studies in Moscow"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the insults against the head of our state, published in the daily ZIUA [THE DAY], that circulated the information according to which Romania's president was recruited as a KGB agent during his years of study in the former Soviet Union, an official confirmation was requested through the Romanian Embassy in Moscow, that the persons quoted by the respective newspaper exist in reality.

In response to this request, the rector of the Moscow Engineering Institute where Ion Iliescu was a student from 1950 to 1954, sent the following document to the Romanian Embassy in Moscow:

Archive certificate

We hereby confirm that from 1950 to 1954, Igor Bodnarichuk and Aleksandr Kavishchuk did not study at or work at the Moscow Engineering Institute.

(Signed) Rector E. Ametistov

The certificate number is 61000/1-449/21 and is dated 9 June 1995. Our proof is the photocopy of the original Russian-language certificate.

ZIUA Rejects Iliescu Denial

AU2006192195 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 15 Jun 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Response of Daily ZIUA to President Iliescu's Statements"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Presidential Institution has issued a communique saying that the head of state was insulted by the daily ZIUA [THE DAY]. We have to mention that "insult against the authorities" is an offense included in Article 338 of the Penal Code and only the law is empowered to qualify the disclosure of the newspaper. The same communique says that, in the

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1950-54 period, the witnesses quoted by ZIUA who have stated that the student Ion Iliescu was recruited by the KGB neither studied at nor worked with the Moscow Engineering Institute. The daily ZIUA states that the fact that the persons used pseudonyms is irrelevant regarding the correctness of the statements reprinted by our newspaper. In the case of a trial, we will offer the entire package of evidence, which will demonstrate that the student Ion Iliescu was indeed recruited by the KGB. In an interview granted to Romanian Television on Monday 12 June at 2030 [1730 GMT] President Iliescu, referring to ZIUA, said that the respective publication is a worthless scrap of paper and the disclosure is an editorial fabrication. This is an insult to the newspaper and it can cause great prejudice against us. It is also a serious calumny against our editors, who are accused in this way of fraud and of publishing fabrications. The communique is signed by Sorin Rosca Stanescu, general director of the daily ZIUA.

Lack of Opposition Judges in Constitutional Court

AU2006122495 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 14 Jun 95 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Ion Iliescu Is Preparing To 'Control' Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In its current composition, the Constitutional Court has been turned into an instrument of unconditional support for President Ion Iliescu and for the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania], parliamentary sources informed us. First of all, it is at variance with democratic practices that people who had worked out the document under the influence and pressure of a certain political moment should also be the ones to implement it. The majority of the current judges—namely, Ion Muraru, Antonie Iorgovan, Mihai Constantinescu, Florin Vasilescu, and Ion Deleanu—also belonged to the commission in charge of editing the Constitution in 1991. Currently, no judge proposed by the opposition is included in the Constitutional Court. It is worth mentioning that this institution has an essential role in organizing and carrying out the presidential elections, as well as in determining the result of the respective act and in the process of legalizing it.

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President Kucan Disappointed by EU Treatment

AU2006190995 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovenia is resolving the problems of the economic and political reforms successfully, President Milan Kucan emphasized on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Slovene independence and statehood. At a news conference for numerous domestic and foreign reporters, he again supported creation of a vision of the future. When he spoke about the changes to the Constitution he advocated among other things that legal expertise be given a greater say. Sandi Frelih report:

[Begin recording] [Frelih] In four years, Slovenia has justified citizens' expectations from the independence referendum. Its fundamental task today is to think about a clear identity and vision of the future, as to what kind of a country we wish to be. In this way we will not live from day to day, Milan Kucan says, as the vision will form the basis for the planing of legislation, decisionmaking on foreign policy, relations with neighbors, strategic partners, security, and defense policy. Our fundamental tasks are to strengthen the observation of human rights, the rule of law, the consolidation of successful economic processes, and opening toward the international life. We must do everything to boost the reputation, authority, and influence of the law. In the economic sphere we must, among other things, complete the process of property transformation.

There can be no law abiding behavior if the state offices remain insensitive to corruption, favoritism [klientelizem], expansion of the international crime, intolerance, and disregard for human rights. From the viewpoint of the European standards, Slovenia cannot be reproached for all these phenomena, however, we are facing them nevertheless, president of the state assessed.

Referring to international policy, Milan Kucan pointed to the priority tasks, which are entry into the European Union and NATO pact. This means a dialogue with Europe on an equal footing, he emphasized:

[Kucan] Creating the European future is not an easy task. It is important that we get the opportunity to enter into a dialogue about the future, which will also be ours and on an equal footing. Hence, the question of why Slovenia is interested in being invited to Cannes. Not being invited to Cannes means being left out of a structural dialogue, and not taking part in the structural dialogue means leaving the decisionmaking about the European future, which is also our future, to others.

I would say that we experienced very directly the way in which—behind all the declarations about a Europe of equals—the interests and mutual concessions lie, as well as the solidarity of the influential at the expense of the less influential.

[Frelih] Milan Kucan, among other things, recalled the citizens' unity four years ago and concluded that new divisions are emerging among us.

He regretted the fact that the State Chamber could not agree to hold a session in which it would pay respect to the Home Guards killed after the war as well as the slow pace in redressing injustices.

It was unprofessional, he said, that the representatives of Slovene minorities in Ljubljana travel from door to door, not knowing whether they have stumbled upon receptive ears.

Replying to a reporter's question, he said that relations with Italy were regulated with the Osimo Agreements, which are a kind of a peace treaty, and also that the Italian initiative could only be negotiated so that certain pieces of real estate are restituted in lieu of compensation.

The president warned that the Constitution would have to be changed; however, he assessed that Slovenia had been discriminated against in initialing the agreement on associate EU membership, as all other candidates were given a deadline for amending their constitution. [end recording]

Drnovsek To Head 'Operative Defense Headquarters'

AU2106084395 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 15 Jun 95 p 1

[Article by V.V.: "Operative Defense Headquarters Formed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 14 June—The government at its last session appointed an operative defense headquarters; the headquarters is headed by Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek, whose deputy is the defense minister, Jelko Kacin [defense minister] told a news conference today. The institution involves six other ministers, who will in the future, the legislation envisages, discuss all spheres of defense activity, as well as the strengthening of our defense system, and thereby obtain an unified approach to the development of the Slovene defense system.

"This does not mean that the Slovene Government is losing its role and importance here; quite the opposite. In view of a statement by the president that again revives his wish for the formation of a national security council, as he has voiced on numerous occasions before, I wish to stress that the government decision stipulates that the

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state president be invited to the sessions of the operative defense headquarters," Kacin said.

He also announced an initiative to be launched at the United Nations to have the arms embargo on Slovenia lifted.

Commission Head Opposes Deal With Italy

AU2006163995 Ljubljana MAG in Slovene 7 Jun 95 pp 41-43

[Interview with Borut Pahor, acting chairman of the Slovene State Chamber Commission for International Relations, by Joze Biscak; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Borut Pahor is vice president of the United List of Social Democrats, acting president of the State Chamber Commission for International Relations, and a man who many say would already be foreign minister if he had belonged to the right political party. He has recently been in the limelight for attacking the foreign minister for failing to inform members of parliament about the negotiations with Italy.

[Biscak] Relations between the State Chamber Commission for International Relations and Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler have become rather strained. The situation was not so strained even in the days of Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle.

[Pahor] I do not think that there is any conflict, at least of a personal nature. I am still a friend of Minister Thaler. However, it is true that the Commission, that is, the State Chamber, has its own position on the regulation of relations with Italy, which is that the valid agreements should not be changed, while our foreign minister maintains that we must find a pragmatic solution with Rome. If I understand the intention correctly, this also means changing one of the 49 agreements, namely the 1983 Rome Treaty, to accommodate the Italians' demand that the option-takers' [optant] property be restituted, which is in my opinion unjustified and unfair.

[Biscak] Is it the fact that the Commission lacks sufficient information about the talks between Slovenia and Italy that is responsible for the dispute? It is not yet entirely clear what Slovenia has promised Italy in exchange for the lifting of the veto in Brussels?

[Pahor] It might be improper for members of the Commission to complain constantly about the lack of information, even though we always wish that we had as much information as possible. However, the truth is also that one who is well informed can make qualitative decisions.

[Biscak] So where is the problem then?

[Pahor] The problem lies in the joint statement by Thaler and Agnelli [Italian foreign minister], especially in the third paragraph that speaks of available real estate. I have personally told Thaler that this creates the impression—not only in Rome but in Brussels, too—that Slovenia will make a so-called gesture of goodwill, which Italy has been demanding since 1992. The key mistake on our part is that we have explicitly voiced our readiness to make a goodwill gesture in relations with Italy since 1992. However, we are not obliged to make any.

[Biscak] Slovene diplomacy knows this, too, but does not want to say it out loud.

[Pahor] The Foreign Ministry and the government are afraid that, in face of an adamant objection that we are not obliged to make such a gesture and that the return of the option-takers' property is out of the question, Italy might close the EU's doors to Slovenia. However, if we give some sort of a present to Italy, then Italy will become the general sponsor of our entry to the EU.

[Biscak] Is this not the case already?

[Pahor] It is in a sense, although, interestingly, Italy has never been sympathetic toward Slovene independence. It even tried to link diplomatic recognition to the signing of a tripartite memorandum.

[Biscak] Between Croatia, Italy, and Slovenia?

[Pahor] Yes. On regulating the position of the Italian minority. On that occasion we kept a cool head and mustered enough courage to reject this demand and were afterward recognized anyway. Subsequently, too, Italy never showed any special sympathy, with the exception of the verification of agreements [signed between the SFRY and Italy] in July 1992. However, it is also true that until this conflict it never demonstrated any special antipathy.

[Biscak] What would you like to say?

[Pahor] Why make a concession to Italy when the European partners who helped us gain independence did not demand one? Have we not met their demands by our government announcing the change in the Constitution?

[Biscak] You were one of the first to criticize this government promise?

[Pahor] Yes, because this promise was given under Italian duress and because the government pledged to start the initiative for the change in the Constitution before the signing of an agreement with the EU. This is the first such case in European practice. I am not an opponent of the change in the Constitution. Slovenia must modernize its legal order. All developed

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democracies are doing this, not only in Europe, but elsewhere in the world, too. The world is becoming more global and legally more uniform.

[Biscak] Only we should not rush?

[Pahor] It is very important that we are the subject of speed, adjustment, and also contents. [sentence as published] It is clear that we must also acknowledge our partner's interests. However, on fundamental issues such as the Slovene Constitution, we must assert our full sovereignty.

[Biscak] If I understand you correctly, Minister Thaler is making the same—let us call it—mistake in his negotiations as Lojze Peterle supposedly did?

[Pahor] I did not have a negative opinion of Peterle and I do not have one of Thaler. The problem that Thaler always presents to me when I try to draw attention to my opinion is that he did not start this whole spiel with the Italian side but was appointed foreign minister when Italy was already expecting a gesture of goodwill.

[Biscak] However, Aquileia nevertheless marked a progress in relations?

[Pahor] We did not need to go to Aquileia in September. It all happened only a few days after the Slovene Government statement that it would change the Constitution.

[Biscak] Ambassador [to Italy] Kosin assessed it very favorably.

[Pahor] I do not share his opinion. He simply assessed Aquileia as positive in view of the art of the possible. I am not saying that Peterle suffered a fiasco, but, generally speaking, he did not need to negotiate at all.

[Biscak] Do you think that Italy would have given the green light without Aquileia?

[Pahor] Well, ultimately Italy did this without Aquileia on 6 March. Of course, it is true that Minister Thaler did sign the controversial provision about the real estate with Agnelli.

[Biscak] Was there anything else apart from this?

[Pahor] Nothing else was needed. That joint report sufficed. In Rome and Brussels alike this was a sign that we were—to a degree—willing to find an agreement with Italy. Brussels harbors the same expectations. It does not say so officially, such as, sort out the restitution of the option-takers' property; however, with reference to the joint statement of both foreign ministers it expects that we will find some sort of an agreement with the Italians.

[Biscak] Did all these long negotiations with Italy raise doubts and fear?

[Pahor] Rightly so.

[Biscak] What is actually happening?

[Pahor] I have no information apart from what the Commission for International Relations has received. Nor do I need any. If the government and the first man of diplomacy are willing to negotiate on the option-takers' property, this is a sufficiently serious warning that this is leading Slovenia into a situation in which it will ultimately have to satisfy Italian expectations for Italy to open the doors to Europe, otherwise Italy will trip Slovenia up with the understanding of the international community.

[Biscak] We are always speaking of the option-takers' property. The issue of the option-takers' property has been solved. Namely, the option takers are those who had to choose between remaining in Slovenia or moving to Italy and who received compensation. They were the option takers. But what about the Esuli [Italian refugees from Croatia and Slovenia]?

[Pahor] It is the same problem.

[Biscak] But we must make a distinction.

[Pahor] What matters to us is that the 1982 Rome Treaty solved the question of compensation once and for all.

[Biscak] Has any real estate already been returned?

[Pahor] No, no real estate.

[Biscak] In 1989?

[Pahor] This is a matter of the former SFRY; it does not concern Slovenia. If Slovenia agrees to change so much as a single item in the valid agreements, we will then have no guarantees that the Italians will not raise other issues—this will set a precedent—and second, what will stop other European partners from saying, excuse me, we have also verified the agreements that you inherited from Yugoslavia and they contain issues that we would like to resolve anew.

[Biscak] So why is Mr. Thaler negotiating on real estate at all?

[Pahor] Zoran Thaler is a prisoner of the legacy that he inherited from his predecessors. When he took the post, he should have said immediately that he champions the State Chamber's position and that he will not negotiate on the option-takers' property. Of course, Italy could say: Fair enough, but we will close the doors to you. However, I maintain with full responsibility that this is a high price and we should not pay it.

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[Biscak] Dr. France Bucar says that Italy has accomplished more than it has expected, that is, that Aquileia was better for Slovenia.

[Pahor] We share very similar views to those of Mr. Bucar. However, I would point out something else. Until 6 March, when all the European partners were bitching about it, Italy looked like a big country harassing a small, defensive country. However, in March it cunningly made a generous move, lifted the veto, and simultaneously in a joint statement again created the impression (and that is how the international community perceived it, too) that we will negotiate with them on the option-takers' property. This is not all about 300 houses. They are interested in whether they can go ahead with their policy toward Slovenia. If they succeed, we will have undertake the great liability that in 1995 we end up in a subordinated position toward one of the European capitals for the lousy price of a European agreement. This will be an example for others, showing that they can push us around as they like. We will be risking undermining the entire agreement infrastructure that binds us into the international community. These are the consequences and they are more far-reaching that two or three hundred houses.

[Biscak] Do you think that this will happen?

[Pahor] I will insist to the end, regardless of the consequences that this might have for my candidacy for the president of the Commission. If such a policy wins the majority on the Commission and then in the State Chamber, then the Italians will have accomplished their objective. I will try to warn the public that this is not about houses but about principles. It is about the question of where the international stability of Slovenia should be decided. It is possible that the whole thing will get through if the government convinces the majority of the coalition partners.

[Biscak] This must happen before the announced referendum on the change in the Constitution?

[Pahor] Absolutely. It is customary that ministers talk through plenipotentiaries. If a political decision is made at government level to conclude the talks with a decision to begin negotiations—such is the custom in diplomacy—then, according to our Law on Foreign Affairs, Minister Thaler must face the Commission for International Relations with a proposal or an initiative for the signing of an agreement or a change in an agreement and secure the majority of votes for it. If this happens, I, as the chairman, will propose that the Commission debates this and decides whether or not to pass it; however, the State Chamber will subsequently discuss this, too.

[Biscak] When could this happen?

[Pahor] In June.

[Biscak] What about the reciprocity of which Thaler is boasting?

[Pahor] With this, Slovene diplomacy wants to create a pretty picture that the Italians will also give us something in return. However, I daresay that regarding quality this will not compare, and, besides, we are not to be blamed for the agreement. Italy has forced us into it. Any reciprocity will be a mere cosmetic correction.

[Biscak] We would never ask for Narodni Dom in Trieste, for example?

[Pahor] No. This is regulated by the prevailing agreements. If we accept the Italian argument that circumstances have changed as the agreement was signed with communist Yugoslavia and now we are dealing with a democratic Slovenia, then all the agreements are at stake. We must take the position that the Italians verify them. Otherwise, issues that go back to fascist times will become a subject of discussion, too. Even if Italy were to restore property, it would do so to its own citizens of Slovene ethnicity, while in Slovenia's case, Slovenia would be restoring it to Italians. One must be very exact and careful here.

[Biscak] This is all turning into an internal political problem?

[Pahor] Prejudice, grudges, and party plans are all intertwined and this is narrowing the maneuvering space for Slovene diplomacy. It is evident that we have different views. There are roughly two views. The first is that we must yield to Italy in return for our integration into Europe and the other is that the price is too high and that we should not yield to Italy.

[Biscak] The majority of parties share your view.

[Pahor] It is difficult to comprehend the matter if we do not know the background. An initiative for the change in the Constitution has also become.entangled in the whole affair. It would be positive if the State Chamber were to start a several-year debate about how to harmonize legislation in line with the EU. The referendum will merely be one stage in the decisionmaking process. Besides, the referendum will not be about Europe but about Slovenia. We should discuss such crucial matters as the government proposal a little longer and, finally, we should find a consensus with the opposition and acknowledge it.

[Biscak] The other problem in the vicinity is not Croatia as a state but Istria, it seems. Official Slovene foreign policy has never responded to the demands of the

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Istrians for interregional linking, that is, the demands for Istria as an European region that would also encompass three Slovene coastal municipalities.

[Pahor] If we are pessimistic for a moment, we can say that Istria could become the next big European problem if all the following conditions are met: If Zagreb continues to centralize the authorities (which will not be obeyed in Istria), if Italy tacitly sponsors an borderless Istrian regionalism, if the Italian minority in Istria starts creating the impression that it is not being treated equally, if Slovenia does not in due time warn about the problem, and if the process of EU expansion does not make any headway, which is a feasible scenario for the next few years.

[Biscak] What should Slovene policy be?

[Pahor] It should be explicit. Istria is an internal political problem of Croatia. In no sense is it a problem in Slovenia. Official Italian diplomacy should take a similar position. This is not an international problem. If we do not say this loud and clear, we will be tacitly supporting the radical wing of the Istrian Democratic Congress, which speaks of cooperation that goes beyond borders.

[Biscak] Should official Slovene policy at least hint that it supports Zagreb?

[Pahor] It could do this with a kind, polite gesture—it does not need be a diplomatic note, but, for example, a statement by the prime minister or foreign minister at a news conference—that some statements of the Istrian Democratic Congress about a borderless region also comprising the Slovene municipalities are not acceptable to us and we might perceive as encroachment on the sovereignty of our state. In the opposite case, the Istrian Democratic Congress will succeed with its idea on the European international scene. The Istrian region, for example, is a full-fledged member of the congress of European local communities, even though Croatia is not yet a full member of the Council of Europe. We must not reconcile ourselves to the line of thinking that could give an impetus to this policy, which could run contrary to our interests.

[Biscak] Let us dwell on the chairing of the Commission for a moment.

[Pahor] I am the acting vice president of the Commission.

[Biscak] So how will the dispute over the Commission's president be solved? It seems that you are not in the right party?

[Pahor] I am not wiling to change the party or my stance toward Italy in order to become the president. I am running because I believe that I possess certain references and I shall run for the post until somebody else is elected. I was also motivated by the conflict with Italy, which can only be resolved through a principled policy. [passage omitted]

[Biscak] What is your assessment of Slovene foreign policy?

[Pahor] Slovene foreign policy has been successful since 1990. I would say that the conflict with Italy is the only black mark on Slovene diplomacy. We did not have any other major problems, by which I do not wish to minimize the problems encountered by Dr. Dimitrij Rupel and Lojze Peterle. However, the first conflict with long-term consequences is the conflict with Italy.

[Biscak] Who is actually in charge of Slovene foreign policy? It seems to be running on two tracks: the government on one, President Milan Kucan on the other.

[Pahor] I would say that Slovene foreign policy is made in the government and in parliament. The government sets the limits and the parliament has the authority.

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Federal

Churkin Holds Talks With Milosevic, Karadzic

LD2006145795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1355 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 20 Jun (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Russian Ambassador to Brussels Vitaliy Churkin this afternoon resumed their talks in Belgrade. The first round of the talks began yesterday.

In the meantime, Churkin visited Pale, where he had talks with [Bosnian] Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic.

Churkin, Karadzic, and Milosevic have not commented on the reasons behind the visit of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's special envoy to the former Yugoslavia, so none of them is expected to talk to the press in the wake of today's meeting.

As diplomatic sources in Belgrade speculate, Churkin's surprise visit marks Russia's involvement in the latest initiative by the big powers, during which Moscow has so far remained on the sidelines.

An unnamed diplomatic source has told SRNA that Churkin is trying to bring about an agreement along the Moscow-Belgrade-Pale axis on solutions for a quick end to the war.

This is why the Russian ambassador is trying to persuade the Serb leaders to heed the latest international peace initiative, while for its part Moscow will take on an obligation to invest its authority in the international community in securing a lifting of sanctions and enabling the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to establish confederal links with the Serb Republic.

Slovenia's Defining of Share in Debt 'Alarming'

LD2006190295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1629 GMT 20 Jun 95

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 20 (TANJUG)—Press reports that Slovenia has managed to define its share in the former Yugoslavia's total foreign debt that has not been divided yet are alarming, an official of the Belgrade-based Foreign Trade Institute said Tuesday [20 June].

Radovan Kovacevic told TANJUG that it was very disturbing that Slovenia had managed to settle the matter in talks with international creditors, bypassing the succession group of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY).

This sets a precedent in the extremely sensitive sphere of world financing, because decisions on the former Yugoslavia's foreign debt and on financial relations among the former Yugoslav republics are taken in the absence of relevant Yugoslav officials, he said.

Kovacevic, an expert on foreign economic relations, said it was hard at this point to foresee all adverse effects of such a course of events.

There are indications that such a move would enable the reprogramming and refinincing of Slovenia's and Croatia's shares in the debt with the international financial institutions, which could indirectly place Yugoslavia into an unfavourable position, he said.

Kovacevic said it was possible that the two former Yugoslav republics, with international creditors' wholehearted support and understanding, disregard the proviso that stipulates solidary responsibility in discharging the former Yugoslavia's foreign debt.

The latest programme of refinancing the former Yugoslavia's foreign debt released in 1988 contains a proviso that enables creditors to request an early repayment of the total debt if part of the debt is not cleared in the prescribed time.

If Slovenia and Croatia succeed in their intentions, foreign creditors would then be able to activate the mechanism of recovering their claims from Yugoslavia once the sanctions are lifted (if Yugoslavia's share in the debt is not reprogrammed), without observing the proviso of solidary responsibility, he said.

Kovacevic said it was vital that Yugoslavia should duly open talks with foreign commercial banks and other creditors on the reprogramming of immediate liabilities, in the process of which it was crucial to renew cooperation with the International Monetary Fund, he said.

The foreign debt of the former Yugoslav Federation was put at 16 billion dollars before the secessions of four of its six federal units in 1991.

Talks on dividing the former Yugoslavia's foreign debt among the former Yugoslav republics began within the ICFY succession group in 1992.

Monetary Policy, Spending Cuts 'Priorities'

LD2006215995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2127 GMT 20 Jun 95

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budva, Yugoslavia, June 20 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Jovan Zebic said on Tuesday [21 June] that a restrictive

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monetary policy and cuts in public spending and prices were priorities in the economic policy by the end of the year.

Speaking at a three-day consultation of Yugoslav businessmen in the Adriatic resort of Budva, Zebic said the economic situation was plagued by price hikes, the dinar's fluctuation on the black market, a hard currency shortage, lack of thrift and high public spending.

Zebic said it was necessary to trim public earnings and spending down to a level bearable for the home economy. He said that 50.3 percent of the gross national product had been set aside for financing public spending in the January-to-April period of 1995.

Zebic said that public spending was financed solely from real budgetary revenues, which was an excessive fiscal burden on the economy and the people.

Because of a modest economic growth, however, it is impossible to reduce the financing of public spending from the gross domestic product, which forces firms, labouring under high taxes, to increase their earnings by raising prices, he said.

Zebic said that the results of the economic policy in the first half of 1995 were positive in the main, despite problems that the national economy had been grappling with.

Economic growth has been maintained and the national currency—the dinar—has achieved comparative stability after a long period of recession, he explained.

This has been made possible by the extremely modest increase in money supply of only 1.6 percent in the first quarter, while the money supply in April and May stood at 2.4 billion dinars, which was the level of December 1994, Zebic said.

He added, however, that there was a strong undercurrent of fear of inflation, which was finding expression in volatile prices and their uncontrollable hikes every time the smooth running of the economy was ruffled.

In the six months of 1995, retail prices have risen by 33 percent, and the cost of living by 32 percent over the same period of 1994. Wages, meanwhile, have risen nominally, but have dwindled in real terms, because of the rising cost of living, said Zebic.

An ownership and production transformation of the economy is imminent, as the new economic system which is being created will be based on a more efficacious system of ownership and an integral market, said Zebic.

Serbia

SPO: 'Prerequisites' for Renewed Peace Process

LD2006195195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1745 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 20 (TANJUG)—The opposition Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) assessed on Tuesday [20 June] that essential prerequisites had been generated for renewed peace process in Bosnia after the release of the detained U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] members.

Milan Bozic, SPO deputy in the federal and Serbian parliaments, told a news conference that Yugoslavia and especially Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who had successfully mediated in the release of all UNPROFOR personnel, showed readiness to have these prerequisites created.

The SPO, one of the leading opposition parties, was insisting that the created prerequisites should be immediately applied and that the negotating process should be intensified, said Bozic.

Bozic asserted that the Croat-Muslim Federation's latest offensive had been encouraged by a setback in the peace process.

Bozic stressed that the lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia would be the key contribution to the peace process.

SPO Spokesman Ivan Kovacevic told the news conference that the Croat-Muslim's latest offensive was ushering in an all-out war which threatens to spread outside Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Kovacevic said that the SPO expected UNPROFOR observers to act impartially in this latest escalation so that at long last an end be put to the policy of punishing only one party to the conflict—the Serb side.

Human Rights Group Condemns Forced Recruitment

AU2006201095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Despite the publicly proclaimed stand that Serbia strives for peace, the police is proceeding with the mass forced mobilization of people for the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. This was stated today by a human rights group, the Belgrade Circle [Beogradski Krug].

The group, which brings together many important Serb intellectuals, stated in its communique today that mass forced mobilization proves again that the Serbian

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president favors the war option, despite his public statements. The independent media is full of such reports, including military call-ups that some individuals have shown, and these prove that not only refugees, but also Serbs from Serbia proper, are being mobilized by force and sent to the front.

It is estimated that some 18,000 able-bodied Serbs fled Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia in 1991 and 1992, refusing to fight against their former friends and neighbors, Croats and Muslims.

The Belgrade Circle and other Belgrade human rights organizations have sharply criticized forced mobilization in Serbia, claiming that this was against international law. The continuation of the war is the only option that the Belgrade regime and its puppets in Bosnia and Croatia want to pursue, the statement issued by the Belgrade Circle today points out.

Montenegro

Replacement of Radical Party Deputy Protested

AU2006160395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Jun 95

[Article by Miodrag Vukovic from Podgorica]

[FBIS Translated Text] As of today, Serbian Radical Party leader Drago Bakrac and Dzemal Perovic, deputy of the Liberal Association of Montenegro, will most probably no longer be deputy chairmen of the Montenegrin Assembly. Assembly deputies will decide on the former after 1700 [1500 GMT] today. As for the latter, he has already tendered his irrevocable resignation in protest at, as he put it, the destruction of democracy. Thus, this will most probably be the end of the debate opened on 16 June on the initiative to replace Drago Bakrac, head of Serbian Radicals, as deputy chairman of the Assembly because of insults aimed at the current top Montenegrin leaders that he expressed at gatherings and meetings in the larger Montenegrin towns.

The initiative presented by the 12 deputies of the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists caused fierce opposition among almost the entire Montenegrin parliamentary opposition. The proposer's explanation that, in his public appearances, Drago Bakrac violated constitutional and legal provisions, that, as a deputy assembly chairman, he failed to raise above party interests, and therefore must leave the post of deputy assembly chairman, was used by the opposition parties present as reason to hurl the worst insults at the proposers and to accuse the ruling party of undermining the democratic processes in Montenegro, violating the right to free speech, and imposing a totalitarian policy.

The replacement of Drago Bakrac today has provided an opportunity to accuse the Montenegrin authorities of hypocrisy, using the former friendship between the ruling party and the Serbian Radicals as an argument. Such and similar accusations have made Deputy Prime Minister Zoran Zizic and Predrag Bulatovic, head of the caucus of the Democratic Party of Socialists, deny all opposition accusations and offer the Radicals an investigation by official state organs and not by the assembly commission, which was what they wanted. They reiterated their promise that they will do everything with a view to (?publicizing) the truth and if a single claim is proven to be true, they offer to bear the responsibility themselves.

Kosovo

'Staged Trials' of Former Policemen Viewed

AU1706144095

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina Kosova Daily Report in English numbers 634 and 635 on 12 and 13 June carry several reports on "staged trials" against 72 ethnic Albanians in Pristina, as well as other trials in Pec and Gnjilane.

It is reported that the trial of 72 Albanians, former Kosova police personnel and current members of the trade unions of former Kosova police employees, who have been in detention since late 1994 following "staged accusations of having been involved in the establishment of a parallel Kosova police force" resumed in Pristina on 12 June.

The defense lawyers presented their "objections on numerous breaches of the legal proceedings by the Serbian-run authorities," which were "left unheeded." All the defendants "pleaded not guilty," thus terming the trial "a staged and kangaroo political trial aimed at incriminating the Albanian democratic movement in Kosova."

There have been numerous reports of "fierce tortures" to which the detainees have been subjected during the pretrial detention and that they have been "forced" to "sign self-incriminating statements."

It is also reported that three separate trials, based on "similar charges," have already ended in Pec and Gnjilane. Sixteen Albanians "stood trial" in Pec and were "convicted to 59 years in prison," although they "firmly denied the Serbian-engineered charges." A total of 16 Albanians were "sentenced to 17 years in prison" in Gnjilane. Another trial has already been "staged" in Prizren with 44 Albanians "standing trial." The trial is due to resume on 13 June. As many as 161 Albanians, formerly members of the Kosova police and security

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personnel, have been accused by the Serbian regime of "plotting against the integrity of Serbia/Yugoslavia." Observers and analysts consider the "whole campaign as the 'hugest political trial against Kosova Albanians in the past few years.'"

On 13 June, Kosova Daily Report says that "the Serbian staged trial" against 72 Albanians, out of a total of 161 in Kosova who are charged by the Serbian regime with "having allegedly been involved in plotting against Serbia/Yugoslavia" and "having established a parallel police force in Kosova," resumed in Pristina on 12 June after a two-week break. For three and a half hours, the defense lawyers "argued with the Serb judges" and restated that "most of their clients had been interrogated in the jail premises." In its 13 June issue, the Pristina-based BUJKU reports that the Serbian prosecutor Jovica Jovanovic and the court chairman "turned down all the objections and proposals" put forward by the defense lawyers.

The trial proceedings went on with testimonies by defendants who "denied charges that former Kosova policemen have formed a Kosova Ministry of the Interior," which was "deemed illegal by the Serbian regime." They stated that "the Kosova Government has not formed such a ministry" and added that they have "never met with any of the Kosova Government ministers."

One of the defendants stated that "the charges are based on assumptions and self-incriminating statements obtained by force" and they are "unfounded." He said that "the whole trial has been engineered to serve political purposes." The defendant spoke of "his ordeal since the very moment he was arrested by the Serbian organs" and mentioned some of those who tortured him, confirming that he was "beaten unconscious for at least half a dozen times." He also acknowledged of days of "permanent torture" and "terrible health condition," noting that he had been subject to "daily-based tortures" from November 1994 through January 1995.

The defendant also attested that the Serbian police had "threatened" him and his family, beating up his brother, who was subject to "unprecedented physical tortures." A cousin of his was also "tortured severely" and his father was "bloodstained."

After citing threats by the Serb security people, the Albanian defendant explained the activities of the trade unions formed in 1990, asserting that the trade union of former Kosova policemen tried to "cater for the needs" of its members and follow the situation "closely" in view of the "overall situation in the former Yugoslavia, the breakout of conflicts in Bosnia and Croatia, and open threats by Seselj, Arkan, and the likes in Kosova."

The defendant stated that some 130 of their flats were seized by the police and 700 members of the trade union of former policemen were "summoned to so-called informative talks." He said that 300 Albanians were subject to "physical tortures," adding that the trade union premises were raided 20 times, including the houses of 200 members.

The Albanian told the court that "because of the violence instituted against them," some 650 former Kosova Albanian policemen were "compelled to flee Kosova" and that the "main goal of the Serbian regime" is to "turn" the trade unions' activity into an "underground one."

Ex-Policemen Deny Charges

AU1706144495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina Kosova Daily Report in English number 636 on 14 June 1995 carries several reports on two separate trials against 116 Albanians in Prizren and Pristina, as well as on Serbian police violence and daily repression.

It is reported that two separate "staged" trials against former employees of the Kosova police force, charged with "having allegedly been involved in establishing a parallel police force in Kosova," resumed simultaneously in Prizren and Pristina. The trial against 44 former police personnel and local authorities in Prizren, of whom 23 had been detained since November 1994, while 21 others had fled, was "adjourned twice" at the Serbian-run District Court in Prizren. The defense lawyers have been "contending over numerous deliberate infringements" of the Criminal Code carried out by judges during the investigation proceedings and the trial.

The Pristina-based BUJKU reports in its 14 June issue that the first defendants at the hearing, one being chairman of the Prizren-based Turkish Popular Party and the other a former political prisoner, "denied charges against them," saying that "they had never been involved in setting up any parallel police force in Kosova" and calling the Serbian indictment a "sheer fabrication." One of them "revealed a long and quivering story of the tortures" he had been subject to when arrested and during the proceedings. He acknowledged his arrest by "four armed Serbian security officers" on 9 October 1994, stating that "he had his eyes tied and was driven to a forest, assumably near the Kosova-FYROM [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] border, and was held tied to a radiator in a dark cellar for six days," with Serbian security officers coming "in turns" and "beating him unconscious." After six days, he was sent to the police stations in Hani i Elezit and Kacanik, and later to the police station in Urosevac. Meanwhile,

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the police raided his flat, seizing valuables and 6,000 German marks. The defendant admitted that "he had been beaten successively for 10 days" at Urosevac police department.

The defendant claimed: "When asked to sign a statement, I told the police they could write anything they wanted for I could not stand any more. I was told by the police that unless I signed the statement, my family would be sent to Bosnia and handed over to Radovan Karadzic." He told the court he "had heard for the first time about the alleged Ministry of Interior of Kosova only when arrested by the Serbian police" and that "the alleged secretariats, secretaries, headquarters, or commanders in chief of the alleged ministry" had "never existed," adding that he "had no contacts whatsoever with the Government of Kosova" and had "never met (Kosovar Prime Minister) Bujar Bukoshi." Concluding, the defendant admitted of being an LDK (Democratic League of Kosova) member and having "fully embraced its program" that "advocates a nonviolent struggle towards of the Kosova issue."

The 13 June issue of BUJKU carries reports on the proceedings of the trial against 72 Albanians, which resumed in Pristina on 13 June. The defendants, whose testimonies were heard at the court, spoke about the activities of the Kosova Trade Unions of Former Policemen, saying that "they constituted nothing but a genuine trade unions activity."

Another defendant spoke about "the torture and harassment" he and his family were subjected to during and after the arrest. He told the court his wife was arrested and "kept hostage," experiencing "police brutalities." He "denied charges against him," saying that "the indictment constituted nothing but lies and fabrications." He vowed that he "had never been involved in any police activities," but only with the trade union, which is "a legal and duly registered association."

Sources in Vucitrn and Mitrovica report that the health condition of an Albanian resident in Maxhunaj village in Vucitrn, who was arrested by the Serbian police on 12 June, is "still very grave." He has regained consciousness, but his life is "still in danger." The Albanian testified that a Serb policeman had "tortured him unconscious" by "kicking his head and vital parts of his body." The Serbian police had "threatened" his family with "forceful expulsion from Kosova" and "advised" them to "flee Kosova as soon as possible." The Democratic League of Kosova Information Commission in Mitrovica notes that the Serbian police and security officers had gone to Mitrovica hospital on several occasions on 13 June and "threatened the doctors" who had helped him "get back to life."

Reports from Klina say that the Serbian police on 8 June raided the home of a resident in Cerrovik village, beating him "severely" in front of his family members on "the pretext of arms possession." The Albanian and his son were "ordered" to report to the police station. On 9 June, the police also arrested another Albanian from the same village and his two sons, who were "taken to a forest" in the vicinity of the village and "beaten up" in connection with "alleged arms possession."

Sources in Suva Reka say that on 13 June the Serbian police arrested two Albanians from Budakove village and held them at the police station for "over eight hours," their being subjected to "tortures" on "the pretext of arms possession." On 12 June, the Serbian police in Podujevo detained a local LDK chairman in Bajcine village and "interrogated" him at the police station for an hour. He was released but "ordered" to report to the police station again the next day. The Serbian police also searched for three Albanians from the same village. On the same day, the Serbian police raided the home of a resident in Bradash village. On the morning of 14 June, the Serbian police in Vucitrn detained the chairman of the Municipal Education Funding Bureau and took him to the police station in Vucitrn, where he was "interrogated about his activities and the Albanian education in this region."

'Torture' Alleged

AU1706125995

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina Kosova Daily Report in English No 638 on 16 June carries several reports on the "staged" trial against 44 former Kosovo policemen in Prizren, as well as on the repression in various areas in the province.

It is reported that the "staged" trial against 44 former Kosovo police personnel and municipal authorities in Prizren and Suva Reka, charged with being "involved in establishing a parallel police force in Kosova," resumed at the Serbian-run District Court in Prizren on 15 June. Today's issue of the Pristina-based BUJKU reports that the trial continued with the eveidence of the defendants, who denied the charges, calling the case "ridiculous and a political farce."

During a four-hour testimony, one of the defendants "offered a detailed description of the activities of the trade unions of former policemen," saying that "it constituted nothing but a genuine trade unions activity." He stated that "the key goal of the unions was the protection of the sacked police personnel" and "denied" having "been appointed to any police post ever since he was dismissed from the police force in 1990." The Albanian "refuted the existence of headquarters or

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departments of the alleged Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Kosova."

BUJKU notes that the Serbian court chairman "made provocative questions throughout the hearing," shouting and threatening "he would dismiss the defense." The defense lawyers had requested to "disclaim" the court chairman and three other Serbian judges on the grounds that "they had carried out deliberate infringements of provisions of the self-styled-Yugoslav/Serbian Code on Criminal Proceedings." The defendant told the court that "the statement the court has been exploiting against him was given amid tortures and in a half-conscious condition." The defendant "divulged additional episodes of torture" he was subject to during the investigation proceedings, stating: "Between 18-21 November 1994, I was held tied to a radiator in the premises of the state security. For three days, I was not allowed to have a wink of sleep and was given canned food to eat only twice. During the whole time, state security officers would come in turns, beating me up brutally and threatening with death."

Another report states that "the Serbian-installed public prosecutor" in Gnjilane "has brought charges against seven Albanians, formerly officials with the local government" in Gnjilane. They are charged with conspiring to carrying out "hostile activities," based on Article 136 of the so-called Yugoslav Penal Code. The Serbian local daily JEDINSTVO stated today that the aforementioned "have allegedly established an Association of Military Officers, aiming at operating paramilitary formations." The "Serbian progovernment daily" further says that "the Albanians have allegedly planned to assassinate members of Serbian police who had committed atrocities against Albanians."

It is reported that the seven Albanians were "arrested earlier this spring," and their arrest and detention have been widely seen as "part of a wider campaign of Serbian crackdown on Kosova Albanians" as "the targeted Albanians used to hold positions in public services and administration prior to 1990."

The Democratic League of Kosova (LDK) sources in Istog note that on 12 June, a former Kosova policeman was "summoned" to the police station in Istog and was subjected to "police torture." On the same day, two buses "full of Serbian police" were reported "stationed in the vicinity of Studenice village," provoking many local residents "for several hours."

On 13 June, the Serbian police summoned a sports activist from Vrelle village to a "police interrogation." On 14 June, a Serbian police patrol halted a group of local Albanian primary school pupils in Zallq and seized their school certificates.

Another report notes that the Serbian police in Istog raided a primary school in Banje, seizing school documents and detaining its principal. Sources in Mitrovica say that "under the pretext of arms searches," the Serbian police on 14 June raided the home of a Mitrovica resident and "detained" him for two hours.

On 16 June, the Serbian police in Suva Reka arrested the local LDK chairman and primary school principal in Gjinoc village.

Serbian Soldier Kills 10-Year-Old Albanian

AU2006124695

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina Kosova Daily Report in English No. 639 and Tirana TVSh Television Network in Albanian at 1635 GMT on 19 June carry various reports on the death of a 10-year-old Albanian by a Serbian soldier, as well as on "daily repression" and "stage trials" by Serbs against the Albanians in the province.

Democratic League of Kosova (LDK) sources from a Hani i Elezit report that at about 1940 on the evening of 18 June, a Serbian soldier "shot at and killed" Isa Muhamet Berisha, born in 1985, and resident in Hani i Elezit, a small town near the Kosovo-FYROM (The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) border. The report notes that "the Albanian boy was killed within the compounds of the Serbian army barracks, situated along the railway at Hani i Elezit." It is assumed that the deceased "walked in the courtyard of the barracks, not more than 70 meters away from his home, to collect a she-goat, for heretofore the Serb soldiers themselves have allowed local residents to enter the compounds so as to get their straying domestic animals out."

It is reported that "the family of the late Isa Berisha learned of the shocking news at midnight," while in the "early morning" of 19 June, "Serb Army soldiers told the family they could get the body of the deceased back by midday" at the Pristina Hospital morgue.

The report says that in "the Hani i Elezit region, an area bordering on the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), Serb occupying forces have been terrorizing Albanians in the past few years, killing and wounding local residents and occasional passers-by. The young boy, killed Sunday (18 June) evening, is the seventh Albanian victim in Kosova who died by Serb forces' hand or their unyielding oppression this year."

A statement by the LDK Information Commission in Vucitrn reports that the Serbian police "harassed" a member of the LDK Vucitrn's branch and of Kosova legislature, "allegedly in connection with illegal arms possession." The police have raided his home several

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times this month and they detained him on 15 June, harassing him "for several hours" at the police station.

It is also reported that "the same policeman" arrested his brother 10 days ago and "tortured" him "badly." The man is now being treated at Mitrovica Hospital. The LDK activist was "during the whole time he was interrogated at the police station, ill-treated, insulted, and provoked." He said: "The commander in chief of the police department in Vucitrn kept asking me why the Albanians in Kosova are not organizing demonstrations as they used to do earlier." The Albanian remarked that the Serbian police "blamed him and the leaders of Albanian political parties" for "allegedly promoting anti-Serbian sentiments amongst the Albanian population." Sources in Vucitrn say that, while at the police station, he was subject to "four-hour-long severe torture."

Reports from Vucitrn say that this morning, the Serbian commander in chief of the Vucitrn Police Department interrogated the chairman of the Education Funding Council, who was released a few hours later, but was ordered to report again tomorrow. Sources in Malisevo say that in the past week, the Serbian police raided the home of a 60-year-old resident of Mirushe "allegedly in connection with arms searches." The police were "very harsh toward" members of his family. The Albanian was subjected to "police torture" the following day and was ordered to report to the police station again. The Serbian police also "ill-treated" another Albanian from the same village and a resident of the village of Gurabardh.

It is reported that over the past week, the Serbian police undertook a "vast campaign of raiding Albanian families" in the village of Gjonaj in Dakovica. On 15 June, under the "pretext of searching for hidden arms," the Serbian police raided the homes of 16 Albanians and ordered them to report to the police station "almost on a daily basis." The Serbian police also threatened Albanian residents in Gjonaj, saying that "they would deal with every one of them until they turn in the weapons they allegedly are in possession of."

Tirana TVSh Television Network in Albanian at 1635 GMT on 19 June reports that the "staged trial of 72 ethnic Albanian former policemen from Kosova has resumed in Prishtina today." At the hearing, the defendants, all from the Dakovica Municipality, "denied the indictment" and stressed that "they had not carried out any political activity, even less dealing with forming security centers or a ministry of interior affairs of the republic of Kosova, as charged in the Serbian indictment." They stressed that "our work has focused on the activity of trade unions, which is a legal organization."

In court, all of them claimed that "their statements at the investigator's office were extracted under pressure of violence." Some of the them said that during their interrogations, "several Serbian inspectors threatened to kill them or members of their families." Correspondent Leke Musolli from Pristina notes that "the hearings will resume on 20 June, when other defendants will be interrogated."

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